
CONVERSATIONS.

CONFIDENTIAL

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CONVERSATIONS

POLITICAL

AND

FAMILIAR.

Hac iter *Elisium* nobis. VIRGIL.



LONDON.

PRINTED IN THE YEAR 1784.

CONVERSATIONS

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AND

FAMILIAR

Has not Eliza's copy. V. 1804.

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ADVERTISEMENT.

THE reader of the Life of Addison met with a sort of intimation, that the writer had no thoughts of appearing again in print in a new composition. To take leave of the whole world, or even of one's friends, in a case of this sort, might be dispensed with, and may be adjourned *sine die*. But the present offering is not a new work. The manuscript is taken down from the shelf, where it was placed for several years. For Dr. Johnson interrogated the writer, when he would give over writing in the obsolete cast of dialogues of the dead? *Cynthus aurem vellit et admonuit*. Otherwise he might have run on, like the river mentioned by Horace. He took the hint, and laid down the pen. He exhibited no less than four productions to the public and his friends, in the course of as many years. The pen, like the foot that has been employed in travelling, cannot long stand still. Thanks to the leisure that has

been indulged him, almost through life? Permit him to speak, in the first person, of his situation, and in the words of the excellent Bishop Berkley, from a letter of his in the late printed memoirs. "For my own private satisfaction, I had rather be master of my time, than wear a diadem." On inspecting the bundle of papers, he has selected enough for three hours, reading in print. Transcription, and now and then enlargement, has not been an ungrateful task. It is natural to be pleased with seeing, after a long absence, the children of the brain, as well as of the person. As these sheets are past through the press, they are welcome to the reading closets of old and new acquaintance. If they deserve their approbation, and can honestly obtain their *imprimatur*, they may hereafter be made a book of, and have the decoration of an engraving for the title page, for which a drawing is made. While this writer had Fenelon's Dialogues in his hand, a particular event, and it was of an interesting nature, suggested the subject for a conversation piece. The archbishop's volume was laid upon the table; and a trial was made of

exc-

executing it in his manner. Admiration naturally begets imitation. This has made the author, in good time, "the fruitful parent of an hundred more." The composition was conveyed to the Public Advertiser, that it might be observed, how it looked in print. It had the stale denomination of a Dialogue of the Dead. The writer was found out, and became afterwards suspected of writing frequently and indeed almost all that appeared with that title. It was time to withdraw his pen, and conceal his productions in the privacy of his desk. True is the saying of Cromwell, that a man never goes so far, as when he does not know where he is going. Little did this dealer in conversations propose to write himself out in this manner, and to fatigue or recreate himself with such a succession of talkers. He has not consulted Diodorus Siculus, the original grave historian of Charon and the Elysian fields. Though he may not have kept up to the truth and rules of Egyptian Mythology, he has not lost sight of Lucian, Fontenelle, Fenelon, or Lyttelton. The heroes of these dialogues will be found to talk very much like the people of this world. The scene
seems

seems to lie in London. It may be called, like the tombs in Westminster-Abbey, the tragedy of the dead folks, that is personated to entertain the living. The author is the gentleman usher to these interlocutors, or, in more classical words, is the Sibyl to conduct them through the Elysian realms. If place is not much attended to, order of time seems to be treated with the less ceremony, especially as an elegant metaphysical writer asserts, there is not such a thing as time. What is more material, the *Dramatis Personæ* speak in character, and deal in truth; and tell more than they did whilst they were living. Preserve this little volume to yourself, gentle reader, and keep it as a manuscript, from the fault-finding critic (who will criticise every thing away from you) or from the person who knows too much to be pleased with what he reads. If, notwithstanding all these communications, it should be insisted upon there is nothing new, the author will confess he has lost his labour. After all, what security can he have, that it may not be said of the very best anecdote, and therefore of the rest, collected to amuse the reader, in the words of Horatio in Hamlet,

“ There needs no Ghost to tell us this !”

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CONVERSATION I.

HENRY VII. AND WILLIAM III.

WILLIAM.

YOUR regal elevation must certainly have been written in the volume of fate; for what likelihood was there that the grandson of Owen Tudor—that a private man—that an exile, who was so near being delivered up by the court of Britany, should ever mount the throne of England?

HENRY.

My descent was of royal blood, from the ancient kings of Wales. My prosperity was not so wonderful a matter; for Henry the Sixth, whilst he was washing his hands at a great feast, cast his eyes upon me, and pointing to his courtiers, made this remarkable observation, which I was not likely to forget, “This is the lad that shall possess quietly that which we now strive for.” Kings sometimes make true prophets. But what probability was there that the posthumous son, or the prince of Orange should elude the perpetual edict, be chosen Stadtholder of Holland, and, after dethroning his father-in-law, be elected King of England?

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WILL-

WILLIAM.

All this must have been owing to the consummation of absolute decrees in our favour. As there seem to be some parallel circumstances in our lives, if you are not unwilling to enter into further conversation with me, I will break through my usual taciturnity. Besides, as you are my equal, neither of us can suffer degradation. Kings seldom have the opportunity to converse with kings.

HENRY.

Of my threefold claim to the Imperial Crown, by the Lady Elizabeth, by my personal title thro' the house of Lancaster, and by the right of conquest, I concluded the first was the best to depend upon, as the most popular. My love of sovereignty would have emboldened me to seize the crown, as a conqueror; but the house of York possessed the affections of the English far beyond that of Lancaster. The victory at Bosworth, and the death of the tyrant, whom I did not decline nor disdain to fight with, the placing of the military crown of Richard on my head by Stanley that was found in the field of battle, with the acclamations of the army, made me rather desirous of reducing a second coronation at Westminster to a mere formality. I knew the marriage of the White and the Red Rose would win the hearts of both parties, and give stability to my government. Though I did not like to reign by the dowry of the title my wife brought with her, and though I would gladly have enjoyed the crown and sceptre without participation, I found that by moderating myself to the people's inclinations (for I was entirely the man of the people) I might reign with-
out

out objection or opposition. I therefore brought down the proud spirit of a Welsh prince to the circumstances of my situation. I thought that the crown was worth wearing, though it shone with too matrimonial a lustre. I deferred the coronation of the Queen for two whole years, notwithstanding a great deal of murmuring.

WILLIAM.

Here again I find a parallel. Some of my partizans endeavoured to ground my pretensions to the throne on the invidious plea of conquest. But their arguments gave general offence, and their books were ordered to be burned. I waited a good while to see what the parliament would do with me or for me. At last I spoke out. Instead of Regent, the Convention elected me King. The nation could not do otherwise than it did. But my ambition might not have been so completely nor so quickly gratified, if the hereditary merit of the Princess had not been thrown into the scale. Like the Earl of Richmond, I did not desire to rule by the courtesy of my wife, or be obliged to another for dominion, or to have the name without the power of a King. I was esteemed so profound a politician, that I was suspected of having my eye upon the crown, during the two former reigns, and even to have married to facilitate those criminal purposes. King James, on my landing at Torbay, said bluntly of me, that I should be found to be a worse man than Oliver Cromwell; who was a greater usurper than even Richard the Third. Monmouth got the start of me to redress grievances; took upon him the title of King, which, for want of a good army, he held not many days; for he was taken prisoner, and his crime being too great to be pardoned by

his uncle, he was beheaded on Tower-hill. I waited till I was sent for. I had the names of half the great men in the nation in my pocket, whose business it was to stand by me. You came over at the right moment, and therefore succeeded. You had a Stanley on your side, and I had a Churchill. The nation helped us both into the possession of our wishes. We came not into the supreme power by the conquest of the kingdom, so much as by the expelling the two Kings of whom the world was grown weary. We played our parts well. I do not see how mankind could have done without us. We were made for the times, and the conjunctures for us.

H E N R Y.

I was fortunate in being able to sheath the sword of civil war, which had destroyed more than eighty persons of the blood royal, and more than two hundred thousand persons. To put an end to the disputes about hereditary superiority, the parliament permitted obedience to the King in possession; and thus Might established Right. A declaration very tempting to future usurpation. The laws enacted in my time were deep, and not vulgar—not made on the spur of the occasion (though now and then some of my good laws were for a retribution of treasure) but out of providence for the future, to make the estate of the people still more and more happy, after the manner of the legislators in ancient and heroic times. I had such a reputation for wisdom, that I obtained the flattering appellation of the “Solomon of England.”

WILLIAM.

I was saluted by the more glorious name of "Deliverer," when I succeeded in the purpose of my invitation. My soul never felt such an elevation of joy as when the fleet took leave of the Dutch coast, which was thronged with spectators, who poured out their prayers and wishes for my success, and also when it almost miraculously, (the expression at that time was, by a Protestant wind) got into Torbay, which was lined with people whose religion and laws I was to save. There were some objections raised, which were overruled, to a new Oath, that called me the rightful and lawful King, and to an abjuration test. Time had not corrected all the prejudices of opinions. Cromwell required only the title of King for his security, according to the principle of your statute, and to the idea of the omnipotence of Parliament. Many excellent parliamentary regulations were made after the Revolution, as it was called, in favour of public and of personal liberty. There became a formal contract (an original unwritten one always existed) between King and People. The people did not know how to put in their claims in your unenlightened age. The Crown, so long in possession of the whole military discipline of the state, knew how to crush the outrageous demands of those sons of democracy, Tyler, Straw, and Cade. I touched with the sceptre a Bill of Rights in favour of the subject, and in express condemnation of the abuse of the prerogative in former reigns. Laws now began to rule, instead of the Prince, and the people were a party to those laws.

HENRY.

Under me the constitution assumed a new and a better form. There was no regular government till that time. The old constitution indeed is hardly worth considering or talking about. Every thing depended upon the character of the Sovereign. Magna Charta, more favourable to the great than the lower order, could not preserve the multitude from being much better than slaves. The King was absolute, and, in more modern words, almost the only free person in his dominions. But though my successors became more despotic, they were the less safe. Now was the moment to check the domination of the Aristocracy. Laws against retainers were perpetually passing. Every Baron had been till then a King. They were encouraged to cut off entails, to alienate their estates to the commons, who thence derived a new importance in the legislature. It became difficult for the monarch to hold the balance of government very even, after that took place. Power followed property. What the peers lost, the representatives of the people got their share of. The poor vassals became my dutiful subjects, and looked up to me, instead of their feudal Lords. The commutation of military service for leases and rents of land was beneficial and grateful to the middling and meaner ranks. Trade began to flourish; and the discovery of America found employment for commercial intercourse, and promised increase of wealth.

WILLIAM.

And yet, if I remember right, your reign was not prosperous or quiet. Clouds of discontent gathered

gathered in the political horizon, and broke upon you. Rebellion stalked through the land, and impostors disputed the crown with you.

HENRY.

I am not certain that my crown or person was at any period in imminent danger. This I know, I always went in search of my enemies. A rebellion well got the better of makes the crown faster on the head of the wearer. Perhaps a pretender to the throne obliges the reigning prince to govern with more justice and gentleness; for most princes would behave but indifferently if they durst. A dispute about principles of government is more pernicious than a contest for the crown between two contending families. As every thing was in danger that I could not defend, at my coronation I instituted and perpetuated the Yeomen of the Guard for my personal security. They served against the enemies of the palace, as my army did against insurgents. You know how I treated Lambert Simnel, and Perkin Warbeck?

WILLIAM.

Yes—and it was with the proper contempt. Simnel was fitter for a kitchen than a throne: You could have nothing to fear from him after you had placed him in that menial and ridiculous service. Perkin, sentenced to the stocks in Cheap-side, became a striking exhibition of the mock majesty of Richard the Fourth. His subsequent behaviour justified your severity.

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HENRY.

HENRY.

But you were not always well with your subjects. Was it worth your while to come over to reign?

WILLIAM.

I did not answer the expectations of the whole kingdom; for that became impossible. Those who called me over were the most dissatisfied. But they were willing enough to be rescued from civil and religious persecutions. I wanted them to enter into continental connexions, beyond what, as Islanders, they were inclined to, and of which they could not be made to understand the importance. I, who came to redeem the nation, and was once the most popular man in England, became distrusted and dreaded. The passions of the English are as variable and tempestuous as their climate. As I was a King only of the people's own making (though, by the bye, it is well for England they can make and unmake Kings to reign longer than an Earl of Warwick) they wanted to shackle me with restraints. They thought I thirsted after too much authority, and therefore they allowed me too little. If Kings and Republics have been ungrateful, so also have the people. My subjects were so unmannerly as to oblige me to send back my Dutch guards, the companions of my expedition. If I had been blest with a son, I would not have parted with them; for they were dearer to me than the life guards of your own creation were to you. The vote of the Lower House weakened my capacity of protection, by reducing the army to less than eight thousand men. They began with allowing me a scanty
civil

civil list, and only from year to year. They distressed and brought me so low that I prepared a speech of resignation of the government, and came to a resolution of withdrawing and going to Holland, to reside among the people whom I loved, and who loved me. A triple crown of vexation I thought a poor reward for what I had done,

HENRY.

And what hindered the completion of your resentments and your designs?

WILLIAM.

The moderate Whigs, whom I found to be my best friends, and whom I at last was determined wholly to employ, conjured me (at that moment I thought of the situation of the Roman Coriolanus, who was overcome by entreaties) not to abandon the cause of freedom, nor deliver the nation bound hand and foot, over to the revenge of the abdicated King. The Commons, whom you enabled to possess so many privileges, and to contend for so many more undefined ones, were my masters for several sessions, and England looked more like a republic than a monarchy. They impeached my ministers and favourites, whose vigilance prevented the crown from tottering on my head, whom I was forced to reward with Irish confiscations, having nothing else to give them. They attacked my grants by bills of resumption, but did not prevail. By dextrous management I completed the Grand Alliance. The congress of Potentates assembled at the Hague, to give it life and motion, was the most numerous and splendid that had been seen. The
last

last speech I made to the houses restored me to their confidence, and awakened them to the imminence of their danger. Another year would have made it too late to confederate against France. The greatest artifice in my regal conduct was to form a balance between the Whigs and Tories. But I grew tired of trimming between the two factions. Angry dissolutions, and the frequent exercise of the negative voice, would have been impolitic, and have prevented the machine of government from going on. With a vote of the Commons on my side I should be able, I knew, to do every thing. I laboured hard to procure it on great points, and even by corrupting the patriots of the day. Two deliberative powers in the state are too many. When I was sure of a majority in the Lower House, I might have ventured to send a troop of horse to a refractory House of Lords for my requisitions.

H E N R Y.

But, besides being engaged in squabbles with your parliament, you were not free from conspiracy. You know the Queen Mother and the Dutchess of Burgundy very soon set Simnel and Warbeck upon me. It is marvellous the old family did not make some successful attempts against you, assisted by your discontented subjects, for half of them seem to have repented of their choice, as the Yorkists had done of me, and that foreigners did not alarm you with an invasion.

W I L L I A M.

Ruffel destroyed the best ships of France at La Hogue. Rebellion was ready to raise its head, and assassination was employed against me. I had good intel-

intelligence, and was generally satisfied with disconcerting the plots against me. I forgave oftener than I punished, I overlooked, not only the disloyalty of inveterate enemies, but I locked up in my cabinet the jacobitical correspondence even of those friends who invited me over. Some I pardoned, when they saw I had them in my power; and I offered the choice of a trial or a place to more than one, who were for serving two Kings at a time.

H E N R Y.

I believe it was not much in my nature to forgive. A forfeitable estate was often the price of life or liberty. But, to speak truly, clemency is a royal virtue, and became us both. We had ourselves so often intrigued against the very courts we at last occupied, that punishment became more legal than equitable. They who have committed crimes within the verge of treason, ought more easily to forgive.—To have done with this. You surely had enough upon your hands, while you were only conducting the affairs of Holland. You undertook a great task, to be at the head of a mighty republic and a high-spirited monarchy.

W I L L I A M.

I could very well have managed affairs on both sides of the water, if I had not been thwarted. I had taken the solemnity of an oath to both States, and never violated it. Though I was impartial in my administration, I was charged with partiality. I attended perhaps more to foreign than domestic management. The Queen governed England in my absence, and gave great satisfaction.

tion. Like the consort of Henry, she was a favourite of the people, especially of the Tories, and an obedient wife. I did not take pains enough to acquire or deserve popularity. I became too silent, if not sullen, having observed the evil of too much talking. I ran into the other extreme. The English love a King who will converse with familiarity, and permit himself to be much seen. I was a better Dutchman than an English prince. Our cold humours agreed better. I ventured my life in battle for both people at Senneſ, Flerus, and the Boyne; and preserved the independency of Europe by it. I had as much influence in my native country as in England. The murder of De Witt forced the Prince of Orange into business and action. I was called the King of Holland, and the Stadtholder of England. Happy was it for Europe that William of Nassau became King of England, of Scotland, and of Ireland. It was in the power of one man to perform a great deal. My birthday is celebrated by the sons of liberty, and death has set my character in a true light.

H E N R Y.

There was a singular and unexpected consequence from the marriage of my eldest daughter with the King of Scotland, that is worthy of consideration, and for which it may be difficult for you to find a parallel. By the extinction of the house of Tudor (for the six wives of my son did not produce him one grandson) the posterity of Margaret raised the House of Stuart to the throne of England. Death knocked with as little ceremony at the gates of my palace as at the doors of my subjects. When I had two Kings for my sons-in-law, I thought I had built a wall of brass
for

for the kingdom. I had prepared for the possible contingency of the want of male heirs. I thought Scotland would be but an accession to England; and not England to Scotland: because the greater would certainly draw the less; which was a safer union for England than that of France. My son affirmed, that the cold air of Scotland had frozen up all the prolific blood of the North. It turned out otherwise. The blood on the hither side of the Tweed stagnated the soonest.

WILLIAM.

It was my opinion, if the Highlands of Scotland had been at the bottom of the sea when I began to govern, it would have been better for England. But my successor made them one great people, by a parliamentary union. The case you mention has an exact point of coincidence in later times. Our legislature entitled a new family, and of a foreign extraction, to mount the throne, in default of heirs of the Duke of Gloucester (a prince very unlike your Richard Plantagenet), which took place to the preservation of the Protestant interest at home and abroad. Fresh care was taken, and new limitations were made, before it was their turn to reign. The present amiable Possessor of the throne has more Princes to make Kings of, if required, than sprung from the loins of the Yorks, the Tudors, and the Stuarts.

HENRY.

I did not imagine you could furnish so many resemblances for your purpose. But I believe there was a peculiarity in my conduct that has
nothing

nothing like it. History, I suppose, is full of it. Extortion and avarice marked the progress of my reign. Two wicked lawyers, Empson and Dudley (I hope there are no such monsters now to be found) gratified the covetousness of my temper, and aided me, by the execution of the penal laws, to grind my subjects to powder. I grew heartily sick of these exactions before I died. My death-bed was a proof of my repentance. I wanted to make England a naval power. I sent out Cabot to attempt discoveries, and I was very near employing Columbus in my service. And yet I hid my money, as if I meant to stop the progress of trade, agriculture, and manufactures. An ambitious man may heap up a mountain of wealth to scatter it abroad; but the meanness of avarice is only to lay it up. Nobody attributed my exorbitant collection of a million eight hundred thousand pounds sterling to a good motive. I was not sorry when I heard that my son had put it into circulation, and dissipated it in a year or two in riots and tournaments. My extortion made me deservedly hated, and occasioned perpetual libels against me. I was more feared than loved, more hated than revered; but my government was never trampled upon. I copied after Lewis the Eleventh, the most artful Prince of his time, in his least reprehensible conduct. I died in my fifty-third year; which gave me no leisure to make restitution to my subjects of what I had taken from them. My plunder operated like a famine in the land; and impoverished almost as many as the sweating-sickness destroyed.

WILLIAM.

WILLIAM.

The people of England will forgive almost any thing, but taking the money out of their pockets. No such lawyers nor informers disgraced my reign as did yours. I loved power, and did not wish to be treated like a Doge of Venice. I had prerogative-men about me, to put projects into my head; but I did not much listen to them. An unlucky affair at Glenco was the greatest imputation on my reign. I was in necessity during my whole twelve years. I should not have touched upon the flaw in your character, if you had not candidly acknowledged it. The stories of Crassus and old Vespasian are like it, and are as bad. If I had enjoyed the half of what you amassed, I could have made all the parties in England do what I required; I should have been able to indulge my vengeance, the ruling passion of my life, against Lewis the Fourteenth, for his breach of the Partition Treaty. As it was, for want of secret-service-money, I became little better for a time than a state-puppet; for I was never able to pay well enough to make myself the arbiter of Europe.



CONVERSATION II.

Queen ELIZABETH AND MARY Queen
of SCOTS.

MARY.

WE never met in the other world, though at one time I so much desired it. We knew each other, only by the flattering pictures that were drawn for us, and by the partiality of friends and enemies. I can distinguish my cousin Elizabeth though she is without her ruff and fardingale. There was something in the air and aspect of all the haughty house of Tudor that pointed them out to every observer.—You had a wise council; and that was the reason the affairs of England went on so well during your long reign.

ELIZABETH.

Surely, it reflects no little glory upon me, who appointed that council. I was at the head of the Protestant interest in Europe; which, but for me, would have fallen into the depths of Popery again. To which calamity you would have given a helping hand.

C

MARY.

M A R Y.

You set every engine at work to make yourself of consequence, and to acquire popularity. Your declared illegitimacy did not hinder you from mounting the throne without the smallest opposition.

E L I Z A B E T H.

No; and I would not suffer the supposed blot in my title to be brought before Parliament; for I asserted, that a crown covered all defects. The splendor of my prerogatives, and the disgraces of the former reign, made the people look up to me, and expect great things: and I did not disappoint their hopes. I was respected and feared by foreign powers, as well as by my own subjects.

M A R Y.

You did not make a grateful return to Philip, for his humane interference between your sister and yourself, though it ended in your preservation.

E L I Z A B E T H.

I confess I was rescued, by his means, from the persecution of the bigoted Mary. But his inducements were not founded in disinterestedness. He flattered himself, that by a dispensation from the pope he might be permitted to marry me, and that my consent would follow without much difficulty. At all events, he thought it judicious to be well with me; for he knew that you were the next heir to the crown, whose relationship and connections with France he was afraid of.

M A R Y.

MARY.

But you became his bitterest enemy. You encouraged the revolt in the Netherlands, and assisted his disaffected subjects against him.

ELIZABETH.

I do not mean to deny it. But, at the same time, I had rather a personal kindness for my brother-in-law, than a rooted hatred to him. But, as a Protestant Queen of England, I could keep no measures with the Catholic King of Spain, especially after he had persuaded the Pope to excommunicate me and my kingdom. Philip aimed at universal empire, and would have obtained it, but for me and Harry the Fourth. England would have ceased being an independent nation if I had not succoured the House of Orange and the Hugonots. If England had been obliged to submit, Scotland would have followed of course.

MARY.

It was an extraordinary piece of good fortune for a female Sovereign to ride out all the political storms of forty-four years. I question whether I should have been so lucky.

ELIZABETH.

I assure you, I had a troublesome time of it. But the greatest danger I ever encountered was in eighty-eight; when I expected, and so did the wisest and boldest of my servants, that my kingdom would be invaded; and that my Admirals and Captains literally speaking, would be put into chains and shackles, by the Spanish armament, insolently christened

christened the Invincible Armada, assisted by a land force, under the Duke of Parma. A tempest providentially completed its destruction, and shipwrecked it on the coasts of Ireland, Scotland, and Norway. If it had not been your own fault, you might have been present to have seen and heard your cousin Elizabeth, on horseback, in a suit of armour, marshalling and haranguing her troops at Tilbury, to defend their religion and liberties; and, if you had got the better of regal competition, you would have acknowledged I performed my part to admiration.

MARY.

If you had not hurried me out of the world, I might have been the better for you, and lived to extol your magnanimity. If I had been permitted to succeed you, provided my religion had not stood in my way, Mary might have taken example from Elizabeth. But you did every thing in your power to disappoint me, and to show me you were afraid of me, and to make me hate you, and to detest the very mention of your name.

ELIZABETH.

As a Queen, I did no more than my duty. I all I acted toward Scotland I intended the advantage of the people of England. It was my interest, and I was able to give the law beyond the Tweed, to keep parties in order there, and to bring every thing into dependence upon myself. By my ambassadors and spies upon your behaviour, I was enabled to do, what, if you had been in my situation, you would have had no scruples about.

MARY.

MARY.

A King of France has pronounced, to very little purpose, that if truth and justice were banished from the earth, they ought to be found in the breasts and tongues of princes. What fulsome cajoling letters did you write to me? What protestations of sisterly regard and compassion for my condition have you transmitted? What renunciations of duplicity and of cruelty, as a Queen and as a woman, were conveyed to me, during my eighteen years captivity? What tenderness to me, as one of the blood royal, and regard for the majesty of crowned heads, have you not expressed? I could say more; but perhaps I have said too much already.

ELIZABETH.

You will have to remark against me, a second time, that princes cannot endure to hear the truth, against themselves, if I should desire you to forbear. Therefore, good cousin, let me have all that your wit, your invention, or even your ill-will, can prompt you to utter. Provided you will let me reply and speak, without being interrupted, some home truths to yourself.

MARY.

Agreed on.—With what consummate hypocrisy did you conduct yourself towards me, from the moment I fled for refuge into your kingdom, to the hour of my death? Your signing the warrant for my execution, and afterward imprisoning

Davidson your Secretary, for sending it away, was mean and scandalous. I know also that you wanted Drury and Pawlet to make away with me privately; but they would not turn assassins to oblige you. Nay, you drove from your presence, in a pretended fit of rage, your great minister Burleigh, and made him, for some time not only doubt of being restored to favour, but afraid of being punished for the part he took in this business.

ELIZABETH.

Your assertions of my deliberate malice are destitute of proof. However, I was not quite pleased with some part of my conduct to you. I esteem it as the most dishonourable transaction of my whole reign; for I ought to have taken the blame of your execution upon myself; and not to have let it fall upon innocent people. What was done against you ought to have been justified from the law of necessity, the greatest of all laws. After all, Madam, were you not proved guilty of every thing laid to your charge? Were you not brought to a public trial at the instance of a great party in Scotland, who were once your subjects; and did not my parliament and ministers demand the sentence against you to be put in force? When you had suffered, I was a little frightened at the precedent of bringing an independent Princess to the block. When I came to myself, I felt I was delivered from continual uneasiness, which you were able to raise against me, even in strict confinement. I was even seized with a momentary compassion; but, though I never wished to hear of your being alive again; yet, on account of our affinity,
of

of your sex, and your heroic manner of dying, I even shed a few tears on the occasion, but was not disturbed with the least compunction of mind.

M A R Y.

Come, come, dissimulation is of no use in these regions. Were not you always jealous of the superiority of my personal attractions? and did not these unhappily become the foundation of your hatred to me? Melvil, my ambassador, sounded you on those heads, and told me, after his return, you considered me as your rival in beauty and perfections. His answer to your question, which of us he thought the handsomer women, was the best that could be. If I remember right, it was this, "Your Majesty is the handsomest woman in England, and my mistress in Scotland." Did you not endeavour to prevent me from marrying at all; and, as long as you could, from making Darnly, the handsomest man in Scotland, my husband? And when you heard I was brought to bed of a son, was you not unhappy on the comparison of my condition with your own single state, and with the reflection of your being childless?

E L I Z A B E T H.

I did not, Madam, want suitors, either among my own subjects, or the most illustrious princes in foreign nations. But I chose to live and die a virgin.

M A R Y.

I was well informed of your wanton disposition, and I believe Leicester and Hatton told tales of you. But, what Lady Shrewsbury acquainted me with, I, in good friendship, transmitted to you. You know her account was, that you had no real occasion for the other sex. Your Majesty understands me, and remembers the letter.

E L I Z A B E T H.

And I remember also it was suggested to me, that Shrewsbury dictated that letter, from the jealousy that her lord was more intimate with you than she chose he should be, and with the hope I should discharge him from being your keeper. Is this interpretation to be put upon the conduct of the daughter of Henry and Anna Bullen, for living unmarried, when her love for her people alone prevented her from accepting a partner for her throne and bed? Sixtus the Fifth, Madam, has been known to have expressed his wishes of having a night's lodging with me.

M A R Y.

I do not believe a word of the scandalous chronicle. If I had thought it would have given you such offence I would not have quoted it.

E L I Z A.

ELIZABETH.

If you will allow yourself inferior to me a Queen, I will admit your superiority as a woman, notwithstanding all the flatteries I received. In beauty, features, and accomplishments, you soared above me. They caused my admiration, and also excited the malignity of envy, that involuntary tribute to superior merit. Perhaps I could have been willing to have descended from my height of sovereignty, to have stood upon more equal ground with you, on the score of personal charms. Could I have been easy on this point, yet, in your royal capacity I found a plentiful source of misery.

MARY.

Diadems must needs be set thick with thorns, if yours was unhappy upon your head. Let me hear some more of the causes of disquiet I afforded you.

ELIZABETH.

The thought of your nearness to the crown was an everlasting alarm to my imagination. As the next of kin, I liked you best at a distance; for few princes can bear their successor in their sight. Your marriage and fertility made me ashamed, upon the reflection, that Scotland was to furnish England with royal heirs. The conspiracies of your friends against my life and government, made me tremble for the Protestant religion, to which I was strenuously devoted. I had no fears of this sort when you were gone, on account of
your

your son, who was to reign after me; for Randolph, my agent, acquainted me fully with his disposition; and I knew how to manage him.

M A R Y.

I do not believe you cared who was to be your successor: for I have been assured, since my arrival here, that the delivery of the ring that Essex sent you by the Countess of Nottingham, as a token for his preservation, from her dying bed, was the immediate cause of your death. I am told also, that Lord Hunsdon, your relation, who listened with the greatest attention to your last words, declared you made no mention of James the Sixth, though all your historians assert you did.

E L I Z A B E T H.

If you will soften the harshness of your observations, and overlook some hard measure from my hands, I will pardon, though the severity of your laws could not, your putting Chatelet to death, as a traitor, whom you made in love with you, though his crime was only the phrensy of love, for attempting a second time to secrete himself in your bedchamber, and because it made a great deal of talk. I will excuse your quartering the arms of England, the foundation of our quarrel; your marriage with Darnly; your particularities to Rizzio; your knowledge of your husband's death: your letting Bothwell run away with you, your marrying him after that adventure, and the very extraordinary letters that passed
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on each side, found in the casket which had belonged to your first husband Francis; your suspected intimacy with young Douglas, in Lochleven; your gallantry with Shrewsbury; your marriage contract with Norfolk; Babington's conspiracy; and all that your amorous and plotting disposition led you to undertake.

M A R Y.

Upon these liberal conditions, I will pardon your conduct as Queen of England. For you were not safe on your throne whilst I was living. My relations, the Guises, my own zeal for popery, and my desire to get out of my prison, in Fotheringay-castle, put me upon unwarrantable schemes. I thought all was fair to obtain my liberty, and to gratify my revenge. As a woman, I insist upon it, my triumph over you was complete; and that conquest you never forgave or forgot for one moment. The bloom of my complexion, the brilliancy of my eyes, and (if my going on will not sicken your Majesty) the auburn colour of my hair, the fashion of my dress, and the elegance of my manners, which had been highly polished in the court of France, from which country I parted with inexpressible regret, were infinitely more captivating than what Elizabeth could boast of.

E L I Z A B E T H.

I will spare you the enumeration of your charms. The greater part of my happiness was derived

derived from my exalted station in life ; and not from the felicities of a woman. What you lost as a Queen, you gained as a beauty, and you were born to win the hearts of mankind ; which it was not in my power to do. I was at best but a royal coquet. I suffered myself to be courted by many, but never was in earnest to give my hand to any one. I certainly was the greater potentate, for I made my subjects happier than you did the people of Scotland. But my pleasures were confined within the circles of royalty ; and if I had not been a Princess I should have been a much more miserable being. Your passions afforded you delights that were more natural and personal, and were perhaps more agreeable to your taste ; for you could have passed your whole life in loving and being loved.

M A R Y.

Whether the pleasures of sovereignty or of love are the more exquisite and durable (for I partook of both) we may settle in our next conference. They depend, in a great measure, on the constitution of the mind and the person. As for me, if I were ever subject to the frailties of my sex, for there has been more suspicion than proof against me, I cast them all from me, when I was called upon to act, and to die as a Queen.



CONVERSATION III.

Sir THOMAS MORE and
Sir FRANCIS DRAKE.

MORE.

I Suppose you can tell me something of the new world, that was opened in my time. I fancied that many things advantageous to human life would be the consequence of the discovery of America.

DRAKE.

I certainly can tell you a great deal; for I was several times there, and met with many adventures.

MORE.

I could only sit at home and dream of it.

DRAKE.

But the voyages I made across the Atlantic engaged me in realities. I saw a new heaven and a new earth; in which imagination had nothing to do; and which was infinitely beyond what the wit of man could conceive or contrive for observation and reflection.

MORE.

M O R E.

But what sort of people did you find ?

D R A K E.

Barbarians, cannibals, and savages : and also a race of white dwarf men, on the isthmus of Darien, so insignificant in their persons and their understandings, that they seemed as much a disgrace to human nature as the others of a larger size. We found also a sort of creatures that some call men with tails.

M O R E.

It is less difficult to discover monsters of all kinds, wherever one goes, than well-regulated governments. If these were the original inhabitants, and all of the human species that fell in your way, you met with none of that civility, equity, and prudence, I have described in my Utopia ?

D R A K E.

I was only a sailor, and did not much trouble myself with books. What have you said there ?

M O R E.

My history is descriptive of a happy and well-constituted commonwealth.

D R A K E.

The fruits of your own invention, to be sure ; for I never heard of such a spot upon the globe.

M O R E.

M O R E.

I do not doubt but places full as strange have been seen, or will be discovered and displayed some time or other; for the world is not as yet perhaps above half known. But my narration is a political history, from the mouth of one who had been there, that I published when I was only twenty-four years old, in hopes of making mankind the better for it; though I may more reasonably expect the reader will rather admire than imitate what I have set before them. Yet the account is so easy and natural (whether it turns out to be a true one or not) that it induced some learned men to call upon me for the latitude and longitude, in order to send missionaries amongst them, to convert them to the right faith.

D R A K E.

Your ingenious romance, if it is one, may be more entertaining than any relation I can give you of the new places and people that presented themselves to me. Give me an idea of Utopia.

M O R E.

It is situated in a mild climate; and is described as laying out of the common tract of navigation. I pretend (to speak in the person of Raphael Hytheloday the discoverer) to have landed in a large country, well watered, and fully inhabited; abounding in good laws, and living under a well-ordered government. The people love peace, but are not afraid of war, which they carry on with as little bloodshed as possible. They were enjoying

joying the arts of peace when I was amongst them. They have trade foreign and domestic. Their institutions are excellent, and their morals are uncorrupted. They make it a rule never to say the thing that is not. Crimes and punishments are very seldom to be met with. If honesty, benevolence, and civility (to strangers who land on their coast they are remarkably hospitable) were banished from every other corner of the earth, they may be found in Utopia.

D R A K E.

Hitherto you have not advanced any thing that is incredible or wonderful. All this may be met with, in a qualified degree, even in our own native country. Tell me something uncommon and peculiar to these people; for as yet my curiosity is rather whetted than gratified. There is no occasion to go out of Europe for such men and such manners.

M O R E.

Of their language, persons, numbers, buildings, bridges, rivers, agriculture, manufactures, or trade, I shall not enlarge. There are some singularities in their customs and laws which make them superior to all others, that I shall mark to you, for I was much struck with them. They endeavour to prevent domestic infelicity, by making marriage probational, and afterwards a nullity, upon an unconquerable disagreement of temper. As I was known not to be happy in the choice of a second wife, my contemporaries thought I fetched the record of this from out of my own house at Chelsea. But not to interrupt my narration.

ration. No unchastity nor polygamy was to be found amongst the Utopians. They adapt punishments to offences better than they do in England. For instance, theft is not punished with death, as murder is, because it is not a crime of so great a magnitude. They do not think, like the Stoics of old, that all transgressions are equal. They deal more in rewards than in punishments, differently from all other states. When they grow weary of life they are permitted to quit it. This notion I was not likely to put into practice: for, if it had pleased the King, I saw no reason why I might not have lived much longer, for I was not tired of living. Several positions are laid down in the book that become the historian better than the legislator: and you perceive I blend the writer with the discoverer. They know how to appreciate commodities, and barter one thing for another beyond any people. They settle price and value with mathematical exactness. But, to put an end to all contention and robbery, to treachery, witchcraft, poverty, and to the inconveniences from inequality of condition, they annihilate all property, the source, in their judgement, of all that is wrong every where else in the world. You may consider this, if you please, as the principal feature in their laws, and the most worthy of your notice. If this were a place for facetiousness, a quality I carried with me to the block, I should say, that as I cannot present you with my book, I treat you, as well as I can, with my memory.

D R A K E.

Now, Sir Thomas, you wake me from a trance, or throw me into one. This is indeed the most extraordinary nation I ever heard of. Your last

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regulation is the most extravagant of all. The abolition of property could hardly be with universal consent.

M O R E.

This law is coeval with their constitution. It was made by all, as it concerned all, and is binding upon all. Wealth here is the property of the state, as property is the creature of the state in England and other countries. Every body is obliged to contribute to the common stock, and receive his proportion, as from a public granary. Like the excellent republic of bees, they must drive the drones from the industrious hive. Every one pursues the public good, and is maintained rather by that public than himself. So that there is no high no low, no rich, no poor, in the land of Utopia. The temptation to get, or to dissipate, is out of their sight and their inclinations. One of the best men that ever lived, called Lycurgus (the observance of whose wise regulations kept his country alive for five hundred years) banished gold and silver out of Sparta. Then died avarice, envy, competition, and luxury.

D R A K E.

What mischief then must the working of the mines in Mexico and Peru occasion! Your sagacious mind will be thinking of Pandora's box, which, according to your poets, scatters abroad so much evil, and so little good. It was for this species of riches the Spaniards undertook their voyages and conquests; and for this the English are following them, to take it from them. Gold and silver, like the sun, now animate the whole race of mankind, and the contest now is, who shall

shall get the most of these precious metals. But your fine-spun Utopian notions cannot keep a nest of ants or bees together : much less such a selfish and undisciplinable set of creatures as Men. I have lately heard of such a society as yours in Paraguay, which fell to pieces almost of itself. A refined system, like yours that means to be loftier than the atmosphere, ought to have the breadth and solidity of a pyramid at bottom. I am sure no such convention of human beings, such as you paint your Utopian, can be of long duration. Destroy private interest, and you can have no public one. Make all masters, and you can have no servants. If there is nobody to give orders, who can obey ? Who will till the ground, without a proportionate reward for his labour ? Does not some sensible man, in one of your old authors, on hearing somebody preach of the advantage of an equality of condition, smartly advise him, to begin the trial in his own house ? However equal philosophers may argue men are by nature, they are not so in the powers of the mind and body. The strong govern the weak, as is the case in other animals ; the poor are sed and managed by the rich, and courage tramples upon cowardice.

M O R E.

Surely then, the governments that overspread the earth are but of yesterday, in comparison with the goodness and antiquity of Utopia ; and human nature is not the same in all ages and in all places. Philosophers here may have been law-makers ; for the inhabitants seem to be a nobler sort of beings than are to be met with elsewhere. Plato surely had the Utopians in his eye, when he described his own republic. My representation, I

find, is too disinterested for your conceptions. Your men are mere brute animals in comparison with mine. Perhaps, Sir Francis, you would have thought it too much to have ventured on an equal division of lands in any of your new-discovered regions, and to have put your new people upon a level with one another?

D R A K E.

What would have been the use of my giving myself so much trouble? A few days would have thrown all into distinction, and what you would call confusion. Determine what you would in your closet, there must be subordination in mankind, and speculation must bow the knee to experience. The world is a ship, where, to go the voyage of life, some must command, and the rest obey; and the head must govern the hands. I like your levelling principle better than your destruction of property. But where has a partition of goods, any more than a community of them, taken place?

M O R E.

Lest you should think that the notion of a division of lands is only chimerical, let me inform you, that a project was set on foot for parcelling out a great deal of waste land, and many of the commons in England, to relieve the poor from the oppression of the rich; and that young Edward, the successor of my master, or rather the tyrant Harry the Eighth, wrote a discourse in its favour. It was not, you see, a new thought, for those disposals were found necessary in old Rome

to compose the differences between the Lords and the Commons. Till something of this sort is done in England there can be no democracy, or complete free state. The laws must not suffer any man, or order of men, to monopolize, or to rise above their fellow citizens, or to get or to keep ten thousand times as much as falls to their share. It were well if the Kentish law of gavel-kind were universal : and if the rule of inheritance, according to the law of nature, were the law of the society. As to money, let it not be the measure of every thing. Let us down with it, lest it should undo us. But I am losing sight of America all this while. Pray enter into some particulars in recounting the condition in which you found the new world and its inhabitants. I begin to be afraid, lest I should not like them so well as the Utopians, who are after my own heart.

D R A K E.

Columbus, and our early navigators, found America in want of many of the necessary accommodations of life. No horses, no iron, no ordnance, no gunpowder. They considered us, who first imported them, as gods, and not as men. A canoe, scooped from the body of a tree, was their only navigation. Civilization and improvement were slow travellers. Europe, Asia, and Africa, appear to have been of an earlier creation and population than America, which seems to be a thousand years behind in science and experience. Whence it was peopled, unless it had different parents from what our Bible informs us, is only conjectural. A sailor does not pretend to determine the age of the world from the colour and
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complexion of its inhabitants. They seem to be of a meaner original than those you conversed with at home. They have cunning, which is the child of nature ; but in all trials and competitions they are overcome by European wisdom, which is only to be acquired. The Mexicans, their most polished people, had hieroglyphics for the interpretation of their thoughts. Language, which is not natural to man, but the discovery of art, and slow in its improvement, they were strangers to. Their religion was delighted with human sacrifices. The hords and clans of the naked and unpolished Americans were only so many respectable Orang-outangs. It would require many centuries to qualify the Floridans, Caribbs, and Eskimaux, for Utopians. I wish with all my heart the task of settling America had been imposed on yourself, instead of your writing a fable ; and that, instead of holding out the picture of an unreal empire, you had been appointed Lord Chancellor of America.

M O R E.

That office in the new world might have been as short-lived and as fatal to me as it was in the old one. I begin now not to be so much surprized you could not find the innate goodness and the rational accomplishments my Utopians exhibited.

D R A K E.

Education and instruction make the great difference in mankind. Mere nature is an animal of a hideous air and mien. The Americans wanted an apostle as much as the ancient Britons did to
initiate

initiate them in religion and learning. Their state of nature was literally a state of war. They were under the dominion of instinct rather than of reason. When the Europeans got among them, they learned their vices instead of their virtues, and were seldom left better than they were found. You can have no idea of the original Americans: they were men in figure, but children in understanding. A generation must have passed away before they could have been good for any thing as human beings. If they could have had their minds prepared for your purpose, and you had gone amongst them, I am convinced you would have done all that a philosopher and legislator could accomplish. After you had seen what class of rational animals, with very limited faculties, America had brought forth, you would have given the manners and institution suitable to their genius. If I am not mistaken, instead of lessons for abrogating private property, you would have established it on the firmest and broadest foundation: on the right of discovery, occupancy, and through hereditary descent. You would have civilized them by trade and commerce, and not suffered the strong to oppress the weak, nor have prevented or checked the increase of wealth, nor diminished the refinements or the conveniences of life, by reducing all to a level. Your visionary excellence put into practice could not last a single day. The indolence of the human species would prevail, and industry would be deprived of motives. No man could keep his own for an hour (nay indeed, according to your book, it would not be his own to keep) and a throat would be cut in the new world, in a moment, for a cocoa-nut.

MORE.

M O R E.

Your fluency on this topic has more rapidity than belonged to my pen in the composition of my narrative, and contains more observation than is generally found in men of your profession. If the new world, and indeed the old one, be so bad, I am rejoiced that I confined myself to speculation, and did not wander amongst many nations to spoil my morals, and get such a practical certainty of the wickedness of mankind.

D R A K E.

I acknowledge, Master More, I did not so much rectify my mind in my Atlantic voyages (nor round the globe which I circumnavigated) as enlarge my understanding. I particularly perceived the folly of speculative statesmen, who imagine perfections in human nature, which, as I did not find them subsist in any society, I conclude, are absolutely impossible.



CONVERSATION IV.

The Duke of MARLBOROUGH
And Prince EUGENE.

EUGENE.

I COULD have had no difficulty in finding you out, even though I had not been your joint commander. You have the same superiority of air, and gracefulness of person, you displayed in the other world. Elyzium cannot boast of two personages who did more to re-establish the independence of nations, and to prevent the evil of universal monarchy in Europe. During our lives we conquered every thing but envy; and we may expect that time will do us justice. Our friendship was never disturbed by competition. I was satisfied in being allowed the second captain of the age, though Lord Oxford, whilst I was a guest at his table, invidiously pronounced me the greatest since Julius Cæsar. But, admitting you to have been my master in the art of war, and always fortunate, yet, in one important particular, I soared above you: I was not under the dominion of the craving passion that infected the whole tenor of your conduct, and debased your private character.

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MARL-

MARLBOROUGH.

You mean, I loved money too well, and raised an immense estate.

EUGENE.

I do not take upon me to assert, that you preferred riches to glory; but only, that liberality was not one of your noble qualities.

MARLBOROUGH.

I spared no pains, nay, I wore myself out, by incessant application to deserve applause, and to benefit my countrymen. But, I confess, I did not choose to go without my whole pay, nor any of my perquisites. If a favourable allowance can be made for me, who set out in the world without a fortune, and acquired the early habits of saving as well as getting, my avarice was not absolutely inexcusable, nor matter of wonder. If you will not think I am descending to minuteness, and betraying too much, I acknowledge, that the first sum I laid out, no matter how it was earned, was in buying a strong box to keep my money in.

EUGENE.

I was no stranger to the frugality of your temper. I observed your parsimony within a few hours after the honour of my introduction to you, upon your extinguishing the lights, to save the candles ends, as we came out of your tent near Donawert; where you had just imparted to us the particulars of the plan of your memorable march, from the Rhine to the Danube, to the relief of Leopold. I could not help expressing my surprise

prize to Cadogan and some about me, that your elevated genius, employed on such grand ideas, could stoop to such trifling attentions.

MARLBOROUGH.

My dear Eugene! the conquerors at Blenheim were but men.

EUGENE.

They were thought by the rest of Europe to be somewhat more. But you suffered yourself to be vanquished at home, whilst you were victorious every where else, by the cabals of people of meaner abilities and less splendid qualities. It astonished me, when I came over to London, to find, that you had given such a handle to your enemies, and to know what there was against you,

MARLBOROUGH.

Some of the objections against me were founded in ignorance and malice. It was laid to my charge by men who should have known better, that the mode of carrying on the war against France was erroneous, and that the attempt to subdue her by taking the towns in Flanders was, in the antiquated language of old Duke Schomberg, attacking the Bull by the horns; and, that my predilection for a land war starved the operations by sea, which was our proper element. It is the principal business of every opposition to find fault, to accuse, and to take every opportunity of tripping up the heels of every administration. But surely, as I said in the House of Lords, in defence of Lord Galway, "I did not deserve to

"be examined, like an offender, about insignificant "things." I was for carrying on the war another campaign. After the unexpected dissolution of the treaty at Gertrudenburg, we knew what we had to trust to. Perhaps Lewis became more willing than able to dethrone his grandson. What the French lost in Flanders, they gained in London. A new party sprung up, that was for peace at any rate,

EUGENE.

They gave out, that you delighted in war; and would never put an end to it, as you was so great a gainer by it. To keep up the popular cry, that France was not brought low enough; and to offer a new and large contingency of troops, upon paper at least, you know, were the ostensible objects of my journey. As a soldier of fortune, I never wanted to sheath the sword. The faction got the Queen on their side, and persuaded her, that her government, as well as the church, was in danger, from you and the Whigs, with whom, though a Tory, you connected yourself. They soon found themselves under the necessity of taking away your commission. If you had not resigned it quietly, I was told that Argyle, who never forgave you assigning him that dangerous post at Malplaquet, had undertaken to the Queen to seize you at the head of the army, and bring you away dead or alive. The vote of the Commons, the Exchequer prosecution against you, for putting the perquisite money from the foreign troops into your pocket, though justifiable from the conduct of King William, the complaint against you and Cadogan, for making the burghers of Brabant pay for their protection, answered the vindictive purposes of Oxford and his associates. I wished him
put

put out of our way; for which his spies reported I had undertaken to be an instrument. As if he was apprehensive of violence, he took sanctuary by night in the palace. His revenge for your turning him out, two years before, was thoroughly satiated. He threatened you, and made you understand that your life and property were in his power; which at last obliged you to leave England, and to live in exile.

MARLBOROUGH.

The continuance of the war was as much the nation's interest as it was mine. If the operations of the next campaign had been crowned with success, my family would have been too powerful to have been crushed. Perhaps my enemies might have felt that my temper was not unprovocable; and Harley might have found what mettle I was made of.

EUGENE.

Another year of the war would have shaken the French monarchy to its foundation. Old Lewis trembled under his misfortunes, and was thrown into indispositions that required the lancet. When you retired from the army, he recovered himself. He was not afraid of the abilities of Ormond. We tried our strength against Villars, when you were gone; but were not a match for him. When you fell, the hopes of Eugene were defeated. From the moment that Mazarine refused me a regiment, I became as hearty an enemy to France, as Hannibal was, from the altar, to the Romans. I made no secret of declaring my
inten-

intentions, if we had penetrated into the heart of that kingdom, of going, the next Spring, with a flaming torch in my hand, to burn and destroy the palaces of Versailles and the Louvre. But, your apprehensions of being stripped of your fortune and your political cowardice, reduced you to insignificance, and crumbled your party to nothing.

MARLBOROUGH.

If the inclination for amassing wealth had been the sole purpose of my life, opportunities presented themselves of gratifying me sufficiently. Torcy tried me with the temptation of two hundred thousand pounds, in the name of his Sovereign, to procure him peace. I made no observation on his offer, and did not choose to understand him.

EUGENE,

But, had you no mind to the money? Your desire of being General for life, which Lord Cowper would not suffer to pass the great seal, I am persuaded, was grounded on your liking to the salary, as much as the influence it would procure.

MARLBOROUGH.

How do you know but my ambition was more unbounded than my covetousness? My desire to hoard up, might be with a design to bring about, as General Monk had set me the example, the restoration of the son of my old master? or, to enable

enable me to set up for myself? Even my coming over, at the moment of the Queen's death, was a riddle to half the nation.

EUGENE.

Come, Marlborough, I am not to be thus imposed upon. You loved money, like the miser, for its own sake, and better than you did any living thing. I do not believe you would have purchased the crown, vast as your ambition was, as well as your avarice. If England had been put up to sale, you would not have bought it. Whilst you were calling, at your table, when I was your guest, the Queen (with the greatest emphasis) *my Queen*, I could not help turning about, and applying the sentiment of the Roman poet, "that money was your Queen." You made the Jacobites conclude, you were in their interest, and yet you kept in with the court of Hanover. Your double correspondence was suspected, nay discovered. The Queen contended with you, and prevailed. Had I suffered myself to be intoxicated with the lust of gold, I should have descended to the grave with a diminished reputation.

MARLBOROUGH.

The greatest men, in the ordinary occurrences of life, must resemble common mortals. Allowance is to be made for human frailties. Great vices may be redeemed by great virtues. I hope my errors are buried in the grave with me, and that my countrymen, who contemplate my military character, as recorded on the pillar in Woodstock park, will remember the hero, and forget the man.

But

But tell me, how long did you survive me? Did you continue in the Emperor's service? How did Fortune dispose of Prince Eugene?

EUGENE.

I outlived you about fifteen years; and, after having escaped death so often in the field, I expired in my bed, by a suffocation, in my palace at Vienna. I continued in the Imperial service, and was generously rewarded, as an old and faithful servant. I gained an important victory over the Turks. This happened whilst you were yet living. But, I believe, your understanding, which you had put so many years to the full stretch, had already begun to fail you, and your apoplexy afterward caused a total oblivion of me. I was pursued by the malevolence of a party at home, as Hannibal and yourself had been. Starhenberg, my rival, threatened to have me called to account, for venturing the whole army against the enemy in their entrenchments, near Belgrade, which surrendered to me the next day. After a profound peace of fifteen years, a fresh war broke out, between France and the Emperor. I commanded his army upon the Rhine, against your nephew the Duke of Berwick, who was killed by a cannon ball at Philippsburgh. The war, however, did not last long: I just outlived signing the preliminaries.

MARLBOROUGH.

You had as great an appetite for war as I had for money.

EUGENE.

EUGENE.

That is impossible; though my temper inclined me enough to a military life. Next to yourself, I obtained more laurels than any hero in Christendom. At Vienna I was esteemed a greater military character. Argyle used to say, "that he "would employ Eugene to conquer a country, "and Starhenberg to drive him out again." Not a word of Marlborough. I had a palace built for me at Vienna, not indeed equal to what the public raised for you at Woodstock, and I occupied it with magnificence. I lived up to my high employments. It would have been well if you had done the same. I could not be greater as a subject. When my qualifications as a soldier were no longer in fashion, I became a patron of the arts of peace. I was an encourager of men of letters, and a rewarder of merit of all kinds. I also was as much of a saint as a soldier could be. When I breathed my last, I was lamented by the whole empire, who were afraid that fortune was going to leave them. My disposition perhaps induced me to profusion; but the failings of the Duke of Marlborough were continually before my eyes.

MARLBOROUGH.

Notwithstanding the blemishes of my life, I have no reason to complain of going without my share of worldly glory, and the approbation of my contemporaries. The imputed sordidness of my soul did not hinder me from being created Duke of Marlborough and Prince of Mindleheim. It was overlooked at the accession of the House of
F Hanover;

Hanover; for I was restored to the post of Commander of Chief. My funeral procession, I am told, was suitable to my military achievements, and was attended by the first men in the kingdom. On that occasion even party slept for a whole day.

EUGENE.

All this may be very true. But, if you had laid out some small part of your overgrown wealth in preventing the lampoons of the scribblers of the time, who were amongst the enemies who helped to pull you down; and had you not curtailed the shirts of your fellow soldiers, as you called them, which they flung over your garden wall, would you not have done wisely? Do you remember this epigram, written by a man of your household, whom you made angry and disappointed, upon your bridge and river at Blenheim?

“The arch, the height of his ambition shows!
The stream an emblem of his bounty flows!”

MARLBOROUGH.

Eugene, you are too hard upon me to-day.

EUGENE.

Your Grace may retaliate to-morrow, if you please. Do not imagine I think myself invulnerable. It was thought I had lived rather too long, and fell under the dotage of a predominant folly. This is the first and the last time I shall presume to
censure

censure you. If you had been without fault, you had been too great for humanity. I like the generous notion entertained of you by Bolingbroke, conveyed in his answer to some people who wanted to expose you : “Gentlemen, he was so great a man, “ that I have forgot his vices.”

MARLBOROUGH.

I confess it would have been better for me if I had possessed the munificent disposition of Prince Eugene. I am sensible I was your reverse ; for, excepting promises, of which I was lavish enough, as they cost me nothing, I hardly ever gave anything away.

EUGENE.

Whilst you were living, the triumphant faction compared you to Crassus, and you became obnoxious by the malicious comparison. But the world would have thought better of you, if you had been as extravagant as Cæsar, and had left the public to pay your debts.



CONVERSATION V.

ABELARD AND PETRARCH.

ABELARD.

SO, you fell in love at first sight, and continued in that sweet delirium for twenty years, without ever being in the embraces of the beautiful Laura!

PETRARCH.

I do not know which of us two is more to be pitied or blamed, on account of the unhappy passion that intoxicated us. You seem to have been the more fortunate; for you possessed the object of your desires, and would probably have lived and died with Eloise, but for the barbarity of her uncle. Your misfortunes have made you more talked of than your learning or your logic.

ABELARD.

Nothing but religion, and its austerities, preserved me from distraction. The soul of Eloise became subdued to piety; and, conscious that I had not been to blame, she abstracted herself from the converse of the world; and, at my instigation, and by my assistance, she founded a nunnery,

nery, and became the first Abbess. There, in a little chapel, she deposited my dead body, at my desire; and twenty years afterward one grave received us.

P E T R A R C H.

Religious duties then so filled up your time, and occupied your mind, that you had no leisure to think of your past pleasures or present calamities!

A B E L A R D.

Yes, a letter or two I had written to a bosom friend, several years after my affliction, fell into her hands, and occasioned her to write to me in a manner that made my wounds bleed afresh; and all my philosophy and religion were scarcely able to support me. Happier I must have been if my soul had been a stranger to the passion of love, and if I had not been the instructor of Eloise. Pray let me turn me from the thought of myself and ask you, how you came to continue your passion so many years, when from the first there was no hope for you.

P E T R A R C H.

You must know, I was as great a proficient in poetry as you were in logic. It was a relief to my heart to write verses to Laura, and embellish my poetry with her praises. Not that words alone would have pleased me, for I was in the prime of manhood; and had it not been for gratifying my flame with a more ignoble object I do not know how far indiscretion might have hurried me. That, and her situation, insured safety to us both,
for

for she had been some time married, and became a mother almost every year. I never had the least design upon her honour, and indeed her prudence was a great protection. If she had been single, I flattered myself she would have preferred me to all mankind. I avoided giving uneasiness to her husband, and gratified no passion of her's but her vanity, by endeavouring to sit next her in company, walking abroad with her, praising her, and presenting her with the fondest tributes of my Muse. When she died, the verses I wrote shewed the elegance of my attachment, the height of distress, and the perfection of poetry.

ABELARD.

O! it is a fine thing for a beautiful woman to be attended by her Laureate, to be praised in public, and to be certain that all his thoughts by night and by day are taken up by her! I was obliged and content to obtain Eloise by courtship in prose, and to keep my inclination for her a secret as well as I could.

PETRARCH.

I lived opposite to Laura, near the fountain of Vaucluse, and saw her perpetually. All the waters which flow from that perennial spring would not have quenched the fervour of my desires. In my solitary walks, and during the journeys I now and then took, the contemplations on her were always uppermost. I had a great reputation for literature, and might have received high honours from my countrymen; but I preferred writing a sonnet on Laura to all the glory which learning
would

would have given me. Her person, her accomplishments, and every faculty of her body and soul, enraptured me. Whilst she lived, I had no other object of affection; and when she died, all desire died with her. No other female had attractions for me; I tuned my lyre to no other; and I remembered her to the last moment of my life; for old love could never be forgotten.

ABELARD.

Though you confess no more than a platonic passion, the ardour of your sentiments is really Ovidian. If you had not been a Poet before you became a Lover, you must have died for Love, and could not possibly have survived her so many years. Perhaps the possession of her charms might have cured you of your phrensy, but then it would have spoiled you for a poet.

PETRARCH.

If my passion had been only personal, enjoyment might have kept it in reasonable bounds; but it soon became a desire of the soul, and from that moment insatiable and unconquerable. She had a mind as elevated as her form was perfect, and a heart that was tenderness itself!—But I forbear, for the subject, I see, is too interesting for you.

ABELARD.

We must have done with this conversation. You have made Laura immortal, and your names go hand in hand to posterity.

PETRACH.

And the Loves of Abelard and Eloise are become the subjects of the best Romancers and Poets. The inquisitive traveller often visits Paraclete; and the enthusiast in love and poetry never fails, I am told, to wander in the valley and to the fountain of Vaucluse.



CONVERSATION VI.

Marthal D'ANCRE and
VILLIERS Duke of BUCKINGHAM.

D'ANCRE.

I HEAR you rejoiced at my being killed by Vitri, in the Louvre ; and declared publicly, that, as I was got above the reach of the law, you were glad that a poignard or a pistol could take off so dangerous a favourite. You did not foresee your own violent death, which happened only a few years afterwards.

VILLIERS.

I had not, at that time, arrived at the pinnacle of power and greatness. I was not become of consequence enough to be envied or feared. I had no apprehension I should ever be so unfortunate as to incur the general indignation. I had not been rocked in a foreign cradle to be considered as an alien ; nor contracted the prejudice of nine-tenths of a whole people against me on that account.

G

D'AN-

D'ANCRE.

What signifies it where a man is born, if his merit is apparent and confessed even by his opponents? I followed my countrywoman Mary of Medicis; and was determined, while the wind continued fair, and filled my sails, to let my vessel go as far and as fast as prosperity would carry me. I thought, by my marriage with Galigai, her waiting woman, I had obtained a permanent interest, and insured my safety.

VILLIERS.

Your ingrossing the favour of the queen, your possessing yourself of titles, crown-lands, and confiscations; and your affecting to defy the princes of the blood, and making yourself so strong against all opposition, occasioned young Lewis to consent to your assassination, and to pronounce, as soon as the news arrived of your being dispatched, that he was now King. But he was then no more king than before. Your successors Luines and Richelieu continued him the same pageant of state you left him. The majority of the French nation approved of the act against your life. The populace took your body out of your coffin, tore it into pieces, and scattered them to all the points of the kingdom.

D'ANCRE.

Men who make a figure in courts should never encourage sanguinary proceedings. They are sure to make a precedent against themselves. Though they may have the best intentions in the world towards

wards the public, let but fortune turn against them, and the popularity of even twenty years may be lost in an hour. Even when a minister is not attentive to his own aggrandisement, he may be obliged, in the discharge of his duty, to do many hard things, against his real inclination, that may draw resentment on himself, and lay him at the mercy of the multitude, who, when once enraged, are too often, for a time, the real masters of the persons and properties of half the kingdom.—I dare say you do not think you were rightly served at Portsmouth. To elevate the pride of your heart, you had been at one time called in parliament the saviour of the nation; and in a future and not a distant one, was voted an enemy to your country.

VILLIERS.

The justness of the observation was verified in me, that whoever will risque his own life, may be master of another's. Your Henry the Fourth was not more safe against the knife of Ravilliac, than I was against the steel of Felton. Discontent of mind, on not being promoted, armed that gloomy fanatic against me. Confinement and reflection brought him to penitence for his crime, and to his senses.

D'ANCRE.

I suppose your family had the satisfaction of making him atone for his crime by the hand of the common executioner. I have not heard that a single tear was shed on my account; nor that

taking away my life has been called injustice. Indeed, I had offended so many degrees of people, that I had nothing to expect but death in their own way.

VILLIERS.

If I had not been stabbed at Portsmouth, I might have succeeded in my second expedition to Rochelle (for which I was better prepared than for my first) which would have given me a chance for recovering the good will of my countrymen. A victory would have made every error forgot. I had the good luck to please both the sovereigns I had the honour to serve. Charles, in approbation of my conduct, provided for all my relations and dependants after my death, and considered my enemies as his. Malice pursued your memory. The parliament declared your son ignoble, and incapable of holding any office. They tried your wife for a witch. They accused her of sacrificing a white cock to the moon, and of enchanting the mind and affections of the queen her mistress; and, under the solemnities of law, put her to a cruel death; though she declared she exercised no other dominion over her than what strong minds possess over weak ones; and the truth of her declaration was palpable to common sense.

D'ANCRE.

I hear that she defended herself in a manner that astonished her judges, and that she died with great resolution.

VILLIERS.

Though I lost my life, I lost nothing else. My family experienced the gratitude of my King, while yours did only the cruelty of Lewis. Even the money I lent the crown, in time of distress, from the profits of the places I held under it, was either repaid, or rendered back in an equivalent, to my adherents. As to myself, I was neither rapacious nor ungenerous. If I disliked a man, I told him so; and if I intended, on just provocation, to act as his utter enemy, I put him openly upon his guard, and vowed his destruction. My preheminent station prevented me from having a friend about me, to advise me, and moderate the warmth of my temper. I believe we were both become too great for subjects, and that we rose too high to be safe or to be happy. If my fate had not been so premature, I flatter myself that time and experience would have taught me more wisdom, and armed me with more prudence.

D'ANCRÉ.

I am pretty certain that at one period or another I must have met with a violent death. I had an imperiousness of temper that could not brook controul. The seven thousand men I raised at my own expence made me terrible to all about the court. I was animated with an ambition that could bear no equal, and I carried myself beyond the protection of the queen. The king considered himself only as my pupil, and under the rod, instead of my sovereign; and he longed to be out of the leading-strings of his mother.

There were young men enough in the presence chamber, who perceived his situation, and undertook to take away the regency from her, and to destroy me. Conchini, the poor but proud Florentine, had reason to repent being converted into a marshal of France and marquis D'Ancre.

VILLIERS.

You complain but little of any body ; and have but little to complain of. You made the King, the peers, and the people, afraid of you ; and they put it out of your power to do so any longer, and I think they did right. If I committed any mistakes, or offended the people, my royal masters pleaded excuses for me in parliament. They never would have sacrificed me to popular fury ; and I never incurred their jealousy. The barbarity of the hand that sent me hither, soon made the failings of my nature and my conduct as a minister overlooked. Unluckily, I was the favourite as well as first minister ; a circumstance the people of England do not like to see lodged in the same person.

D'ANCRE.

Still I adhere to my position, that it is not for the interest, nor for the safety, of men in the cabinet, to justify the dispatching of brother ministers by the hands of a ruffian. Whose turn next ? will be a question often and naturally asked. If I am not mistaken, king James checked your forwardness in your prosecution of Weston, the Treasurer ; and told you, if you loved parliamentary impeachments, you might live to have enough of them.

VILLIERS.

He did so : my master saw farther than I did ; and I lived long enough, as he predicted, to have it brought home to myself. But I could not divine, that applauding the sending out of the way, by a pistol, and by the direction of his king, the marshal D'Ancre, a man universally hated, would several years afterward, furnish a hint to a villain to stab the duke of Buckingham. However, such examples as we have afforded, may be a good lesson to future statesmen to behave with moderation, and teach them not to provoke their fate ; for when men are driven to desperation, by the misconduct or wilfulness of ministers, it is more than probable, that amongst the number one may be found to sacrifice his own life to gratify his resentment. As to ourselves, when we ventured to be greater than others, we ventured every thing else. We gave up our time, our youth, and our quiet, to gratify the calls of ambition ; and we threw life, a thing of no moment to a brave man, into the bargain.



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CONVERSATION VII.

CONDÉ OLIVAREZ

AND

SAMUEL FOOTE.

FOOTE.

I SHOULD not have presumed to approach the living Olivarez without credentials and ceremonials; but as nothing but the shadow of Spanish gravity and grandeur is left, I avail myself of the level which death has put us all upon, to enter into a free conversation with you.

OLIVAREZ.

Were you looking for me in these regions; or, on your being told who I am, is your curiosity whetted to accost a grandee and prime minister of Spain, who once made Europe tremble?

FOOTE.

FOOTE.

I have been just ferried over the Styx, and every thing is new and strange to me. You are the first person of distinction I have hitherto discovered. I have seen your picture in England, and, being a good physiognomist, I am certain you are the disgraced Minister of Philip the Fourth. What, still overwhelmed with grief, on account of your losing all your employments one hundred and fifty years ago!

OLIVAREZ.

After having governed the kingdom for so many years, the favourite and minister of Philip the Great, it was mortifying to a man of my pride and merits to be stripped of all my power, because my plans were unsuccessful. Nothing surely is so contemptible as a fallen minister!

FOOTE.

Yes, I think all your schemes ended unluckily to Spain as well as to yourself. Portugal shook off your yoke; and the family of Braganza settled itself on the throne. The Dutch conquered the Brazils, and took from you Surinam and the Spice Islands. You lost the Azores, Mosambique, Goa, and Macao. But, a great man who has been only unfortunate, should not let every body see that he is also unhappy. I was no extensive reader on the other side of the water; but history informed me you died of a broken heart; and your present appearance confirms it.

OLIVAREZ.

If I had continued in my high employments, and my projects had been crowned with success, I should not have been the prey of melancholy and disappointed ambition. The ridicule of my successors would not have hurt me ; and I should have escaped the insult of every defamatory tongue and pen.

FOOTE.

It would have been lucky for you if you had been of my disposition. I never laid any thing to heart for one moment in the course of almost sixty years I was in the other world.

OLIVAREZ.

Who are you, who were composed of unthinking materials ? Was it owing to the insignificant station in life you occupied, or to the absolute levity of your mind ?

FOOTE.

It was in a great measure owing to my natural temper ; for my life was a succession of petty misfortunes. In my youth my follies brought upon me a variety of disgraces. I was obliged to quit the university for some indiscretions. When I came up to London, I dissipated a fair fortune, without the enjoyment of self-applause. I set up an equipage ; and was as often obliged to lay it down. I was for many seasons all over distress. I became the laughing stock of my acquaintance.

But,

But, in my turn, I got the banter on my side. For I turned mimic, and exposed many of the foibles and characters of the time. I spared nobody; and made every body afraid of me. My caricatures were the delight of the town. Aristophanes had not more satisfaction in representing and misrepresenting Socrates than I felt in my farcical exhibitions, both as an author and an actor. I was encouraged to go on; for the malignity of the world takes a pleasure in laughing at other people's expence; and few have any objection to ridicule, till they are made the subject of it themselves. I lost one of my limbs by the inhumanity of a friend, who derived a malicious joy from exposing me to a danger I was not equal to. The magnanimity with which I bore my loss was of no use to me. However, it unexpectedly became the foundation of the ease of my future life. As I was always employed in getting into a difficulty or getting out of one, you see I had no leisure or inclination to give myself time to reflect. Besides, I knew that mankind are made unhappy by reflection. I was a servant of the public, as well as yourself; but I found the art of increasing the happiness of my contemporaries, which you had not the good luck to accomplish. I succeeded in every thing I attempted, which no minister of state ever did.

OLIVAREZ.

Your disposition seems to have been too volatile for business; I do not wonder you sold yourself to the public in this manner, for I cannot guess what else you could have been fit for.

FOOTE.

FOOTE.

I obtained a royal patent for a summer theatre in London, which was continually filled with persons of the first fashion, and people of the best relish for wit and ridicule. I composed the principal pieces exhibited there, and always performed a laughable character myself.

OLIVAREZ.

If I had known I had been conversing with so plebeian a shade, I should have left you with indignation: for Olivarez never talks with any below his rank. I should not have thought Lopez del Vega, our great dramatist, nor even Cervantes, suitable companions.

FOOTE.

I was in hopes, such a merry fellow as myself, might have afforded you some amusement. Fye, my lord! you think yourself at Madrid and the Escorial, when you are only stalking about an unhappy ghost in these aerial shades. An Englishman almost every where is of as much consequence as a Spanish grandee. Do not think yourself degraded in talking with me. A northern potentate, in a tour to England several years ago, did not think it beneath his dignity to pay a visit to a brother patentee and player (a man indeed possess of the greatest talents) at his country house at Hampton, and to present him with a token of his friendship. But I made a more considerable figure above, than you fancy I did. Your excellence had not more crowded levees
than

than I had. You had not more followers or flatterers, nor a greater number of dependants. I pleased the town, and they paid me well for pleasing them. They enabled me to leave off, before I was surprized by death. If tears could fall from me, I should lament, that I was no longer amongst them.

OLIVAREZ.

You seem to be so singular a character, that I must endeavour to unbend a little from my gravity, for a continuation of your talk.

FOOTE.

I am thankful to my stars I was not obliged to immure myself in my closet to turn my brain with political matters, and that I was not called into the cabinet to advise for the good of my own country and the misery of others. I wished to live in a croud, and obtained my desire.

OLIVAREZ.

Neither nature nor fortune intended you for a statesman. Folly and dissipation made your life tolerable, and perhaps prevented it from being a burthen to you. I suppose you never entertained a serious thought whilst you lived.

FOOTE.

I assure you, not a melancholy one. I never was by myself one hour by night or by day. I chose any company, but that of myself, I lived in a continual hurry, kept a good table, was welcome
every

every where. My sovereign was my patron and best friend, and if ever I got into a difficulty, the public, by some means or other, helped me out of it. I think I made a truer use of life than Conde Olivarez. I was not unhappy through the whole course of it, whilst you were only miserable. If I had not so much solemnity, I had more wit, than yourself; and if I never arrived at greatness, I never fell from it. I should like to have protracted my existence to the longest period, if it had pleased the destinies. You may truly acknowledge you lived in a continual series of mortifications, and gave up your breath in a fit of chagrin.

OLIVAREZ.

Fortune has a great deal to do in the affairs of the other world. She made me a prime minister, but she would not continue me in the station. I was a long while her favourite and my Sovereign's, but they both deserted me. I had feasted on greatness, and grew in love with it, and at last had it torn from me. My loss of power prevented me from obliging my friends, and taking revenge on my enemies. When the king and kingdom frowned upon me, a man of my spirit and elevation must needs grow sick of the world. Importance was of more value than existence to me. But the stubbornness of my soul is unconquered by death. I envy you not the felicity you boast of. You lived and died a mimic and a buffoon. I would not have accepted life on those degraded conditions. The low pleasures that gladdened your heart, I should have contemned. To have finished my career of grandeur without disgrace, would have been my utmost glory and a sufficient recompence to me for all my cares. To govern the
minds

minds of men, and to bridle their unruly wills, was surely a nobler aim, than to captivate their senses and to inflame their passions. But I observe Cardinal Richelieu is coming this way, to talk over with me the affairs of Europe. In these frequented shades, you need not be a prey for one moment to the solitude you so much detested, in the upper regions. *[Exit.]*

FOOTE.

How ridiculous is the affectation of consequence in this place, where emperors and beggars are to associate together ! Where philosophers and players, where wits and ideots are upon an equality, and where such an insolent minister as Olivarez, who troubled and terrified the human species for so many years, cannot make such an insignificant thing as I am, afraid of him ! I wish Mercury would permit me to go back again ! I would take off this proud Don, the first night of our performance, at the Haymarket.



CONVERSATION VIII.

RICHARD CROMWELL, Lord Protector.

AND

Secretary THURLOE.

THURLOE.

GIVE me leave to welcome your highness to these regions!

CROMWELL.

A truce with your pompous address! I can have no right to that title, nor occasion for it, in this place. I outlived it, and gave it up, in the other world, more than fifty years ago. We are not now at the council table at Whitehall.

THURLOE.

If you had followed the advice I gave you there, not to dissolve the parliament, you would have been too many for the army. Or if you had permitted Howard to have dispatched Fleetwood, Lambert, Desborough, and Vane, which he would have done if you would have justified him in it, and backed it with your authority, for ought I could see, you might have reigned in safety as Lord Protector.

H

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CROMWELL.

I was not a man of blood, nor of resolution enough, to countenance the rough work of assassination. I was more glad to lay down my authority than to assume it. Perhaps, as the prince of Conti said of me, and to my face, not knowing who I was, in my tour on the continent, after my abdication, "Richard Cromwell was too great a coward to enjoy the fruits of his father's victories or crimes."

THURLOE.

Your too easy renunciation obliged your brother Harry to leave his government and come over to England. He managed, as Lord Deputy, the military in Ireland, with great reputation, and had a numerous party for his family in that kingdom. He thought it high time to submit when his elder brother could maintain his post no longer. As you may remember, he was permitted by the new powers to live undisturbed. He received his pardon at the Restoration, and was visited by Charles the Second, in Cambridgeshire. In one fatal moment the House of Cromwell was annihilated, and the fabric of such prodigious magnitude that Oliver had been raising for so many years crumbled to nothing.

CROMWELL.

Notwithstanding the little trouble I gave, I was not used well. I was voted an allowance and a sum to discharge my father's debts, which were never

never paid. But I am afraid I shall get into the narrativeness of old age, and talk of things you recollect better than myself. I confess I ought to blush, that sprung, as I was, from the immediate blood of Cromwell, I suffered myself to be pulled out of my seat without making the least resistance. But, after what I had already done, I would never have given my consent to be set up again by Lambert, which he wanted Ingoldsby to assist him in doing, after the skirmish and his unsoldier-like behaviour at Daventry.

THURLOE.

Sure never was a son so unlike his father !

CROMWELL.

Yet, during the few months of my reign, I acted the sovereign tolerably well, and harangued the parliament better than even my friends thought I was able to do. I certainly was brought too late to court, and had too much habituated myself to domestic scenes, and the amusements of a country life, to play my part properly, and for a long time; on the active stage of the world. The violence of the general officers, the same who prevented Oliver from accepting the kingship, made the protectorate disagreeable. Because they threatened me, I imagined my person, as well as my power, lay at their mercy.

THURLOE.

For their scandalous ingratitude to your father's memory they deserved to have had their swords and

commissions taken from them. Notwithstanding their imperious language, you had friends, if you would have stood by them, that knew how to get the better of them, and the disputers of your title, in the house, if you had shewn yourself worthy of the name and son of Cromwell. You wanted spirit more than abilities.

CROMWELL.

Say rather, that I was totally unable and unwilling to hold the reins of government in my hands. It was not worth while to light up the flame of civil discord in the nation to keep a man in power who did not wish it.

THURLOE.

Your diffidence seemed to give rise and some credit to a story that went about, of your father's intention of preventing the declension of his family, by leaving Fleetwood his successor. It was rumoured also, that the paper of this designation was stolen out of his drawer; and that the elevation of lord Richard was, at most, only a dying nomination, by word of mouth.

CROMWELL.

If he reserved the appointment till the last moment, and meant, like Alexander, that the most worthy should succeed him, he ought, in strict justice, to have overlooked, nay, to have excluded me.

THUR-

THURLOE.

You preserve the same moderation and meek sentiments about yourself you exhibited whilst you was living. As you entertained no doubt of the legality of your authority, did you feel no inward pang on what your family must suffer when you retired? If you could have transferred it to your brother Harry, or to your sister Falconbridge, it would not have been given up so soon. The nation did not consider you as a usurper or a tyrant. Your government was followed with the good wishes of the people.

CROMWELL.

But what were they good for? When I left my palace at Whitehall, I ordered an especial care to be taken of a trunk, filled with addresses from all the corporations in the kingdom, which I declared to contain the lives and fortunes of all the good people of England.

THURLOE.

You smiled yourself when you said it, and put all about you into smiles. When you left Whitehall, by order of the cabal at Wallingford-house, you did it with a stoical indifference that surprized all who saw you.

CROMWELL.

I could not help my disposition. I was not designed for empire. I was not fit for a storm.

When I found I was opposed by my own relations, it seemed best for me to sink into a calm. Time convinced me I formed a right judgement; for I lived unfearing and unfeared to almost ninety years of age, in great innocence and privacy at Cheshunt. Not knowing, nor desirous to know, any thing of public transactions, or the intrigues of state. Changing my name, and forgetting and forgot by every body. Dioclesian was not happier in his amusements at Spalatro, nor the gloomy Charles the Fifth half so happy in his monastery, as I was under my decent and quiet roof, with my chosen friends; some of whom, by their submissive attention to me, I could sometimes hardly restrain from putting me in mind of the homage that was once paid me. Happy in the sequestered walks of my garden, and in my serious meditations on the vanity of human life. I had tasted enough of grandeur to know its bitterness and instability; and I assure you, the exchange I made, though at the expence of an heroic character, I felt every day for the better, and what I had no reason to repent of. You had talents for business and state affairs, and did not like the inactivity of a private station. What became of you at and after the Restoration? For almost every thing that happened to you has slipped an old man's memory.

T H U R L O E.

From my first dedication of myself to affairs, at the treaty at Uxbridge, under St. John, I had a liking for public employment. After the unexpected event of the coming in of the King, which a scheme of mine, if it had taken place, would have

have rendered impossible, I was not only suffered to pass unpunished, but I was consulted immediately by Clarendon, in relation to foreign alliances. The court knew I had not been so much as privy to the trial and condemnation of the king, and did not think me so obnoxious as a regicide. My fidelity, whilst secretary of state, and my capacity for obtaining intelligence, recommended me so much to the king, that he offered to take me into his service, as he had done ambassador Lockart, who, to be true to his employers, refused to open the gates of Dunkirk to him.

CROMWELL.

This looks well. Did you obtain this mark of confidence, and this place of profit, according to your wishes and expectations?

THURLOE.

No; for when I demanded ten thousand pounds a year to procure the intelligence necessary to serve him as well as I did my master Oliver, he turned it aside, by sending me word, he could have ten secretaries for that allowance.

CROMWELL.

Was you not very much disappointed in receiving this answer?

THURLOE.

I was not pleased with the repulse I met with. But, on reflection, I thought I could not reasonably

ably expect to be intrusted with the secrets of all the cabinet councils at Whitehall ; nor to continue to take a sort of lead, as I had hitherto done. When I found the door of preferment was shut against me, I kept myself out of all mischief, and from having to do with the men who belonged to the good old cause. My few remaining years I passed between the country and Lincoln's-Inn, where I was a bencher. Prudence continued to preserve me safe, as obscurity did to make you happy. I secured the voluminous manuscripts of my state papers, between the floor and ceiling of my chamber, from the inquisition of men in office and power, in the hope they might not fall into bad hands ; but, when I was out of reach, become useful to the public. I died too soon to see all the evils of the restoration of the exiled family, who came in without terms. I had it from good hands, that the court of Charles Stuart was the reverse of Oliver's, and full of prophaness and bebauchery. If you had not thought it convenient to shut your eyes and ears against information, you might have known as remarkable transactions as distracted the times in which we figured, to afford scope for observation and for comparison.

CROMWELL.

I can tell you but little about them. That I might not be suspected at court, whither I never once went, I kept myself from all opportunity of knowing what was supposed to be doing there. Not one of the numerous plotmongers of those reigns ever mentioned my name. When the nation flew to arms, for their religion and liberties,

at the Revolution (a period, master Thurloe, you would have preferred to the Restoration) I was become too old a man to think of or be fit for any thing but tranquillity. I have not yet endeavoured to find my father Oliver. I beseech you to notify my arrival, and to palliate my conduct as the short-lived Protector of the three kingdoms he left to my charge. A prince without treasure and without an army has not long to reign. Tell him, my subjects disdained obedience to me, and were as refractory as the set of Friezland horses that threw him from the box, whilst he was driving you in St. James's Park, and endangered his precious life.

CONVERSATION IX.

Dutcheſs of MAZARINE

AND

Mr. HEIDEGGER.

MAZARINE.

BY what I have heard of your character, I am ſorry I left the other world ſo ſoon; for the partaking of the amusements you imported with yourſelf into England, would have added to the number of happineſſes I taſted in that kingdom.

HEIDEGGER.

I was born a Swiſs, and had the ingenuity to accompliſh what none of our mountaineers had ever done. I came without a fortune to London, where I found means to gain five thouſand pounds a year; and, what is more extraordinary, to ſpend it there. I uſed to defy the moſt able Engliſhman to go to Switzerland, to gain the ſame income, and to ſpend it there in eating. I ſhould have been proud to have answered your expectations. To have gratified a lady who was ſo exquiſite a judge of refinements of all ſorts would have been the height of my ambition.

MAZA-

MAZARINE.

Your operas, masquerades, and ridottos, I hear were delicious things. St. Evremond and I should have often enjoyed them.

HEIDEGGER.

If you had sometimes accepted your humble servant for your introducer, Heidegger would have been the happiest of mortals.

MAZARINE.

You had no pretensions to such particularities from me. Why sure! your hard set of features were not intended to be softened by the charms I was supposed to be in possession of? Do we understand one another, Mr. Heidegger?

HEIDEGGER.

Perfectly well, Madam. But as sure as you were universally acknowledged the handsomest woman in the world, and poor Heidegger were condemned for the ugliest of mankind, I should have been captivated with your attractions, and have had the impudence to have confessed it into the bargain. Vulcan, the most deformed of the gods, as you know very well, was even the husband of Venus, the goddess of beauty.

MAZARINE.

That is very true; but he was not her lover, nor the possessor of her heart.

HEI-

HEIDEGGER.

But my face was not rougher than that of Mars her paramour and favourite. I think I was as handsome, if you will permit me to say so, as St. Evremond ; but I had not such a portion of wit, according to your idea of it.

MAZARINE.

I never admitted him to any freedoms ; his professions were purely platonic. Besides the superiority of his wit to your's, he was my countryman, in exile like myself, and a man of distinction.

HEIDEGGER.

In the affair of pleasing the other sex, wit or elevation of rank have not the most to do ; nor the complexion of the face, though so much is supposed to depend upon it.

MAZARINE.

What is there then to fascinate our sex ? and what does it depend upon ?

HEIDEGGER.

It is on the all-together : the sensibility of one heart is to put the other into vibration ; sympathy is to be awakened ; which is to be attempted by the magic of the eyes ; and then the business is more than half done.

MAZA-

MAZARINE.

You talk unintelligibly, and I suppose with design. But this is not the region of courtship. Why sure you do not fancy you are making love to me! I was only praising you for the entertainments and accommodations your fertile genius was said to have produced, and really did not mean to condescend to talk with you on any other subject.

HEIDEGGER.

Well, Madam, and if you had kept to that single point, might not I ask, if, after you had been transported with the melody of some pieces of music, you would not have stooped to have returned thanks to the performer? Should you have been feasted at a banquet, would you not have thought of the provider of it? Could you have been at an opera or a masquerade of my contrivance and decoration, and been enchanted with the scenery, dancing, and illuminations and transparencies, and not have had the curiosity of seeing the enchanter himself? I could as soon have contemplated on beauty, accomplishments, and all that is bewitching in your sex, and which is destructive to my own, and not been obliged to have appropriated them to the dutchess of Mazarine,

MAZARINE.

Positively, Mr. Heidegger, from all the accounts I have had of you, I considered you only as a sort of master of the ceremonies; and not as a master in the art of love at the same time.

HEI-

HEIDEGGER.

Ceremonials were but half my character. Nobody perhaps was a better purveyor of pleasure to others, nor judged better for himself, or had more solid indulgencies. The fortune I got in the service of Circe, I employed in the company of the Syrens.

MAZARINE.

I intended at first to have reproved you for your freedoms ; but then I should have forgot myself, for this place allows of them. But I heartily wish I could have been better acquainted with you elsewhere. But it is now too late. I had no notion that your rigorous physiognomy had under it so much feeling ; and that those harsh features contained, amongst their appurtenances, so lovesick a heart.

HEIDEGGER.

I should have prayed for the face of Adonis if I had thought that would have recommended me. But I am sure it would not have been a face only that would have won the Dutchess of Mazarine.

MAZARINE.

You have forgot all this while that I was a married woman. Would you have treated me with this gallantry in the other world ?

HEIDEGGER.

It were not for me to have put you to the painful remembrance of the duke. I should have wor-

worshipped at your altars, where you was always surrounded by the Loves and Graces, whether you had accepted my sacrifice or not : and whether my idolatry had been at the Haymarket or at Chelsea, I should not have cared a farthing.

MAZARINE.

Farewell, Heidegger ! we may resume our conversation hereafter. St. Evremond is coming to pay his compliments to me. Nay, as this is not the region for love, it also is not for jealousy !

HEIDEGGER.

I obey your commands, and disappear. I see some friends who are just ferried over : and I long to know who is at the head of the pleasures of Great Britain. What a happy fellow was I in the other world ! and what a connexion might I have formed, any where but here, with the Dutchess of Mazarine !



CONVERSATION X.

Cardinal ALBERONI

AND

Cardinal FLEURY.

ALBERONI.

WHAT a pitiful fellow of a minister was Fleury in comparison of Alberoni! I kept all Europe awake; whilst you did your utmost, during your long administration, to lull it asleep. You never ought to have set your foot out of your diocese of Frejus.

FLEURY.

And if you had continued the curate of the petty village near Parma, you would not have been able so have done so much mischief. But fortune executes every thing in her own way. When I was preceptor to the young King, I little thought I was advancing to be prime minister. As to you, I think you behaved, for the few years you were permitted to guide the affairs of Spain, more like a madman than anything else. You first brought half Europe upon your master's back; and next, obliged its sovereigns to demand, that you should be turned out.

ALBERONI.

ALBERONI.

I had a mind to do great things for Spain, and to shew the world how excellent a politician I was. If my plans had succeeded in the execution, I should have been the first character in Europe. I was too cunning for every court I had to deal with; and my projects were so extensive and so deeply laid, that it became impossible to fathom them, and to form a right judgement where the impending storm would break.

FLEURY.

You indeed made every state afraid of you; for it soon appeared, that your head was full of the most abominable designs, and that you were a man without principles or scruples. Luckily, most of your schemes proved abortive. Your conspiracy against the Regent was singularly discovered, and luckily prevented. Your prodigious armament in Sicily was frustrated by the total demolition of your fleet by the English. The troops you transported into Scotland were easily put to flight. Your design upon Hull vanished in air. Your intended revolution in England, in favour of the Stuarts, came to nothing, by Charles of Sweden being utterly incapable of sparing you a single regiment from Straelsund.

ALBERONI.

It was not owing to any want of contrivance in the cabinet that my schemes did not meet with success. If the duke of Orleans had been my
I prisoner,

prisoner, I should have known how to dispose of him. It never entered into my imagination, that England would venture to attack our fleet at Messina without a declaration of war. It was so outrageous a breach of the law of nations, that the admiral was glad to obtain, by way of security against an enquiry into his conduct, a pardon from his King, which he wore in his pocket as long as he lived. If a few more troops had got safe into Scotland, my expectations might have been answered, especially if the hero of Sweden had been as able as willing to accommodate me with a part of his army, which he would gladly have headed in person, in order to dethrone king George, who had taken Bremen and Verden from him.

FLEURY.

What a flame were you intending to light up ! Every potentate, who was not in alliance with you, began to think himself in danger, whilst you had the reins in your hands and drove on so furiously. How happy was it for mankind you were not suffered to continue in your station ! You fell from your great height unpitied by every honest statesman. Notwithstanding your influence over the Queen, Philip had the judgement and resolution to remove you from his councils and kingdom for ever.

ALBERONI.

The unenterprising spirit of the King was disconcerted by the long run of ill luck against me. It is indeed a matter of no wonder that so poor a creature

creature should give me up, when a few years afterward he gave himself up, and with difficulty was prevailed upon to resume his crown. I am ashamed to recollect I served so pusillanimous a prince. But tell me, if you do not allow my ideas were as magnificent, and as important as could occupy the brain of a prime minister? My intention was to render the kingdom of Spain as considerable as in the days of Charles the Fifth, though the monarchy was in the decline: to make Philip regent of France, and arm him with the power and strength of that kingdom; to drive the Germans out of Italy; to enter into a confederacy with Sweden and Russia; and to set the Turks upon the Emperor.

FLEURY.

You might have been truly called, the plotting Cardinal. I think the last business you hinted at had like to have got you into a difficulty with the Pope, your ecclesiastical sovereign, upon your arrival at Rome.

ALBERONI.

It was an ugly charge against a Cardinal, especially at Rome, of having any connexion with the court of Constantinople. But by the dexterity of my management, I got clear. Yet, after all, what had religion to do with treaties? I have no objection to any appellation that can give the next century as high an opinion of my abilities as they deserved. Even after I was expelled from Madrid, I did not suffer my political talents to be idle.

dle, I was at the bottom of some of the alliances, which got Ripperda so much credit. When I was not taken up with the subject of politics, I was out of my proper element. I was restless to the end of my life. You perhaps are a stranger to my attempt on the little republic of Saint Marino. I thought it a great pity that I had no kingdoms to govern; for ambition, that predominant passion in great souls, never left me a moment. But, notwithstanding my disappointments, I made shift to live to the verge of fourscore. The Gazettes of Europe have hardly done announcing the death of Cardinal Alberoni. I suppose some scribbler will write for me a political testament, as was done for Richelieu.

FLEURY.

Impartial posterity, whose benefit you never consulted, and will not think itself under obligations to you, will talk of you as the disturber of the peace of mankind; just as they will of a tempest or an inundation.

ALBERONI.

And pray what great things did you atchieve, to procure you the thanks of the world, and to render you the favourite of fame?

FLEURY.

My satisfaction was rather to impart blessings to my own country, than to raise a great reputation to myself. France required the tranquillity
of

of peace, after all the devastation of war. I endeavoured to put some life blood into her veins: to give her repose, and make her rich by commerce: to introduce order and good government every where: to lessen her taxes, and pay off her national debt. Walpole, who managed the affairs of England, had exactly my disposition. Almost to the end of his ministry he was enabled to keep the sword in the scabbard. But turbulent spirits invented causes of dispute, and hurried us both, against our inclinations, and the interest of our country, into a war, of which we did not live to see the end.

ALBERONI.

I was a politician whilst I was rocked in my cradle. You did not engage in politics till it was too late, nor till it was time to have done with them. The permitting you to continue to be prime minister, when the face of Europe was changing, to the superannuated age of ninety, was a proof to me that France itself was in its dotage. Your country had sufficiently recovered itself from all its weaknesses; but you threw into the pacific scale your own imbecillities, your love of quiet, your habits of œconomy and simplicity.

FLEURY.

My conduct was approved by my countrymen. I obtained by negotiation all I could have acquired by hostilities. The faculties of my mind were not impaired, nor was my temper soured, though my forehead was silvered over with age.

I was always equal to my station and my situation. I avow the integrity of my principle, in averting the scourge of war (with its general attendants, poverty and famine) from a nation, as long as it can be done with safety, and without disgrace; in not quarrelling with my neighbours upon frivolous pretences, and in not listening to the calls of ambition, the noise of conquest, or the wickedness of revenge. Happiness is of more importance than glory. If you had followed the simple maxim, not perhaps to be found in the political manual of your countrymen Machiavel, of James the First of England, that "Honesty is the best Policy," you would not have provoked the indignation that cast you out of your seat, and occasioned you to be treated as a dangerous projector.

ALBERONI.

To talk of subjecting great ministers to the rigid rules of morality, who are never influenced but by reasons of state, is very extraordinary. If mere morality were only to take place, no master-stroke of politics could ever be exhibited, and there could be no encouragement for a great genius in the noble science of government. To be free, you had no talents for war, nor predilection for brilliant actions, that dazzle the rest of the world. If you had, you would have followed the example of Richelieu, or might have copied Alberoni. All that you were fit for was, by sober management to recover a state that was exhausted from within and from without: to temperize with all about you: but not to enlarge dominion, nor to have fifty schemes going on at
one

one time, to set the world together by the ears, to render the kingdom over which you presided important in the scale of nations.—Adieu, my dear Cardinal! You died in good time for yourself. One of the last acts of your ministry subjected you to a good deal of ridicule. Where I was not loved, I knew how to make myself respected: and if I was hated, I was never laughed at. I discover Bacon Gortz coming this way. Our tempers, when living, were so much akin, that our opinions will coincide in this place. It is impossible not to prefer the conversation of that daring and decisive politician to the pacific and moderate Cardinal Fleury.

FLEURY.

I desire no better character than you give me. On the other hand, I most heartily thank my God, that I had neither the talents nor inclinations you value yourself upon.



CONVERSATION XL

ANNA BULLEN

AND

CATHARINE OF RUSSIA.

CATHARINE.

WE were both married to sovereigns of the most tempestuous tempers. But I had the most reason to be pleased. My husband not only spared my life, but left me his dominions, which I governed for two years after his decease with great reputation.

BULLEN.

If I had taken as much pains to preserve the affections of Henry as I did to captivate them, and to make a cage as well as a net, I might not have finished my life on a scaffold.

CATHA-

CATHARINE.

I was obliged to watch the disposition of the Czar, and not only to secure myself in his good opinion, but prevent him from falling into transports of passion, which would have thrown every thing into confusion. As you happened to be a lady of birth and education, and were brought up in a court, advantages that were denied me, for I was hardly instructed to read and to write, I wonder you were not mistress of more art and address than to give Henry so many causes of complaint against you.

BULLEN.

It is impossible to be always sufficiently upon one's guard against one's natural turn or an acquired habit. I was born a coquet and of a volatile disposition, which I indulged with high indiscretion.

CATHARINE.

But were you not guilty of what was laid to your charge, and for which your head was cut off upon Tower-hill?

BULLEN.

I was perfectly innocent of abusing the King's bed, but I suffered the people about the court to flatter me, and to take liberties. But hold—I mean none, but what, in the eyes of any other
than

than such a husband as I had, would have been thought harmless. The company of the King, especially after he had made me his Queen, was nauseous; and I accepted, nay invited too eagerly, the compliments I thought due to my person and perfections. You, I suppose, had more discretion than to behave particular to any one after Peter acknowledged you for his wife.

CATHARINE.

I little dreamed, when I was taken prisoner with my husband (a petty Swedish officer) and fell to the lot of a Muscovite general, and became of the household of prince Menzicoff, that fortune was going to raise me to the bed of Peter and the throne of the Russias. I was blessed with a very good understanding, and availed myself of continual experience. My conduct never offended, nor was I under a cloud one moment on account of my behaviour to the man who did such great things for me, and for whom I had done such great things.

BULLEN.

What! Is it true that you had done him eminent services? Let me have it from your own mouth.

CATHARINE.

Soon after I had been distinguished by the Czar, at the supper of his favourite Menzicoff, where he fell in love with me the first moment he saw me, I every day gained ground on his affections.
I con-

I continued to make myself so useful and agreeable, that he in a short time did me the honour to marry me privately. I paid the most diligent attention to his humour and to his health, which had been much endangered from his sister's having administered poison to him when he was young, which subjected him all his life after to convulsions. I was the companion of his fatigues and victories and at the river of Pruth—but you will accuse me of vanity if I proceed any farther.

BULLEN.

It is too important and interesting to have it concealed. Pray go on with your relation.

CATHERINE.

On the banks of that river I preserved the Czar and his whole army. He was hemmed in by a superior number of the Turks, with the Vizier at their head and in danger of perishing by hunger. With infinite difficulty I prevailed on the Czar to submit to his fate, and to permit me to try to enter into a negotiation with the enemy. For the desperate and unanimous resolution of the council of war to cut their way through and sell their lives as dear as possible, would probably have put an end to the glory and greatness of Russia. What by entreaties, by presents, and by all the power of words made use of on that occasion, I was enabled to return with an honourable peace, just at the moment they had given up the business for lost. Plenty was restored to our camp

camp in less than two hours time ; and the Czar looked upon me ever after as the person who had saved all from destruction.

BULLEN.

Indeed the distress you relieved him from deserved the high reward with which he paid you. But did you find your happiness increase with your progress in greatness ? or, did you wish to have it in your power to glide into an inferior situation ?

CATHARINE.

I cannot say I did. I found my talents and inclinations keeping pace with my fortune. My gratitude, nay, my affection made me, on every occasion that offered, consult the pleasure and interest of my husband and the imperial dominions, even to the last moment of my life. Two years after the universal mourning for Peter, the illustrious founder of the empire, the nation shed tears on account of my death. A daughter we left, after some political revolutions to which that country is subject, mounted the throne, and put the Russians in mind of the days of Peter and Catharine.

BULLEN.

Your fortune, which began unfavourably, ended prosperously. Mine, that was ushered in with the most promising appearances, ended tragically. To the being obliged to take leave of the world in the flower of my age, I had the mortification to think, that posterity might possibly call my
con-

continence in question. My consideration for my daughter Elizabeth, who I find became the greatest princess that ever lived, made me guarded in protestations of my innocence, and in my reflections on the King her father.

CATHARINE.

Had you any thing to lay to his charge?

BULLEN.

I could have told of the coarseness of his behaviour; of his neglect of me, on the misfortune of my being delivered of a dead son: of his partiality for Jane Seymour, one of my maids of honour, from whom I had plucked an ear-ring that contained a picture of the King. But I believe that nothing could have preserved me from his suspicion or his vengeance.

CATHARINE.

I hope you have had justice done to your character in the other world before this time.

BULLEN.

I hear the Protestant party are convinced that the sentence against me, which was grounded only on hear-say evidence, was unjust. They always had a good opinion of me, and found a faithful friend to the Reformation in Anna Bullen. I
am

am not surprized the Papists continue to blacken me in libels, which they call histories.

CATHARINE.

Perhaps, when you found yourself connected to one of Henry's unwieldy figure and untoward disposition, you might grow sick of life, and be glad to be quit of a companion who put a wrong interpretation upon every thing you said and did.

BULLEN.

To be candid with you, I had nobody to thank for my infelicity but myself. I listened to the blandishment of praise and of ambition. I might have been happy if I had not been a Queen. I was courted by a young nobleman, who would have suited my temper and equality of condition. From the moment I was overpersuaded to relinquish all thoughts of him, my difficulties and expectations increased. I was dazzled with the prospect of a crown, which however fell from my head in less than three years. My enemies were too cunning for me, and I was not permitted to die in my bed, as you did. Would you think it? My body, that form that once pleased a King, and was not approached by meaner hands nor eyes than the dressers of a splendid court, was thrown carelessly and contemptuously into an elm chest, that was made only to contain arrows to be dispatched to Ireland.

CATHA-

CATHARINE.

You seem as much concerned for the loss of your charms as your life. When the head is off, the body is good for nothing. What might have been your feelings, if you had been a prisoner in battle, and a Menzicoff, or even a Peter, had made no ceremony of your delicate living person! Though their behaviour was not too shocking to the taste or situation of Little Catharine, as I was then called, yet Anna Bullen was permitted to make a choice, and not reduced to the chance of war, as I had been,

CONVERSATION XII.

S W I F T

AND

GOLDSMITH.

S W I F T.

WELL, my friend, what is doing in England, or in Ireland, for your appearance pronounces you came from the latter? I was often ashamed to have it known I owed my birth to that country.

GOLDSMITH.

But I had no reason to blush, either on account of my person or my nation; to which a late popular Lord Lieutenant told me, with great frankness, I was an honour. With regard to the other particular, nobody, I assure you, sacrificed oftener to the Graces, or took more pride in himself. I danced, I played on my flute, I fenced, I sung, I rode the great horse, I dressed, I gamed, and lived up to the fashion in all things.—I was no bog-trotter, you see, Mr. Dean.

S W I F T.

SWIFT.

Let me survey you more narrowly. Was it worth while to give yourself so much trouble? But you must have been the best judge. Let me know more of your qualifications; for you seem to have been a character. Where were you bred?

GOLDSMITH.

I was educated at Trinity College, quitted Ireland to see the world; and, after having made a pretty large European ramble, I settled in London, where I died, just beyond the prime of life. I had, let me tell you, a great turn for the belles lettres, was esteemed an agreeable and elegant poet; nay, in the opinion of an excellent judge of literature of all sorts, was the very best that had appeared since the death of your friend Pope. In a word, I was an universal author.

SWIFT.

Well, but did you study men, as well as read and write books? and did you know life and manners? Come, tell me, if you can, the humours and follies that have sprung up since I left the world, for I want a laugh.

GOLDSMITH.

Folly governs the world, just as in your time. New pretensions to illumination display themselves,

K

selves, in the persons of Moravians and Methodists. Credulity has been gratified by one man undertaking publicly to jump into a quart bottle, and by another to jump down his own throat. A Cock Lane Ghost very lately appeared, which occasioned many wise-acres to sit up with it for whole nights, to watch its motions; and which at last was obliged to be laid in the King's Bench, by the Chief Justice. A nation of Patagonians, seven feet high, are lately discovered; who, in truth, have no more real existence than the Brobdnagians in your immortal Gulliver.

S W I F T.

I wish I could have a swinge at the world again. I would lash the credulous idiots till they smarted. What effect had these absurdities on your temper and pen?

G O L D S M I T H.

The nonsense of mankind made me fretful enough; for I was very irritable: but I never put my pen into a passion. I wrote some moral poems, which were not without grains of Attic salt. My turn was to the pathetic—no, forgive my blunder, I was assured I had a great deal of humour, and, as I ever had a good opinion of myself, I easily believed it. This made me turn my hand to some ludicrous essays and a novel. I produced two comedies for the stage; which, because they pleased the town, pleased me exceedingly; for they answered every purpose of mine in writing them.

S W I F T.

S W I F T.

And what, no scandal, no secret history, no Atalantis? Do not be afraid to confess. You know I found out every body's weak side, wrore down with my pen a whole administration, and was too hard for the Duke of Marlborough.

G O L D S M I T H.

Your pen did wonders for your party, but got no good things for yourself. Had it not been for the personal kindness of the Duke of Ormond, you had never been Dean of St. Patrick's. Tho' you supposed that Lord Oxford and yourself governed the nation, you got no bread from him but what you ate at his table. He heard all you had to say, let you bite pieces of paper, and only gave you hints for your pen, as he thought proper.

S W I F T.

But his kindness intended me a thousand pounds. What! was not I in the secret of affairs, when I was taken down to Windsor every Saturday, and had the ministers to myself?

G O L D S M I T H.

Alas! good Mr. Dean, you saw, to be sure, a great deal for one of your function; but Oxford and Bolingbroke, as well as the other faction, had secret correspondences, which you could not so much as dream of.

S W I F T.

I put myself in the front of life, to hear and see every thing. I had the greatest opportunities of knowing all, and I have delivered all I knew down to impartial posterity. Surely the truth was not suppressed!

G O L D S M I T H.

Every thing you intended for us made its appearance. But just as I was leaving the world, the papers of one Robethon (a name you made free with) issued from the press; by which the most secret views of both parties became better known. Whilst Oxford seemed attentive to you, he was privately caballing with the court of Hanover; and meditating their succession to the English throne, whilst at the head of the Tories and Jacobites. He himself was a complete Whig, and half a Presbyterian in his heart, though he deceived you in the shape of a High Churchman. He was cunning and bold, and (to his honour I observe it) regardless of money.

S W I F T.

If I had thought Harley had concealed any thing from me, I might, in a fit of indignation, have gone over to the other side, and should have execrated his memory. For no minister should have duped me with impunity. What great man did you write for or against? Did you take up the pen of history?

G O L D -

GOLDSMITH.

I wrote indeed a whole History of England (as also of Rome); and said some free things of dead kings and ministers of state. But I never was at the head of a political paper, nor dealt in fly anecdotes, nor a scandalous chronicle.

SWIFT.

Nay, if under the full permission of a free press, you did not draw your pen against every body, you were a poor cowardly creature indeed. As you are my countryman, I will tell you without reserve, that if I had lived to your time, I should have gibbeted the characters of half mankind.

GOLDSMITH,

Indeed, the older you grew, the more you quarrelled with every thing and every body. Your fury, when roused, was not appeasable,

SWIFT,

Tush! my temper was to be gratified and fed with the corruption and iniquities of my contemporaries. You witling! why did not you write these maxims and mottoes in your heart?

“From my soul I hate
“All kings and ministers of state.”

"Hated by fools, and fools to hate,
"Be this my motto and my fate!"

Pope was not afraid to declare open war with his pen. He and I were able to have cleansed the Augean stable. What we had begun, you ought to have finished. Pray, Oliver, were you familiar with my writings and character?

GOLDSMITH.

Yes, Sir, I knew you through all your performances. The booksellers (whose servant I was, and at other times their master) put some fresh materials into my hands for writing your life over again; but—

SWIFT.

Sirrah! What are you going to say?

GOLDSMITH.

Though as an author you were the God of my idolatry; as a man, I could not justify your conduct in some domestic particulars.

SWIFT.

What! has any one cowardly affaffinated the name I left behind me?

GOLD-

GOLDSMITH.

Several of your pieces, that you trusted had been destroyed, became the property of some booksellers, who made no ceremony with you. The publication of these tracts, and your correspondence with Vanessa, are become supplemental volumes to your works.

SWIFT.

Well! and what said the world on this occasion?

GOLDSMITH.

The reader of morality stood aghast, at the letters to and from Vanessa; and concluded your conduct base and wicked. It became notorious, by the information of Lord Orrery, your biographer, that you were married to Stella, with whom you did not cohabit, but whom you left to pine away in a consumption.

SWIFT.

You hit upon some parts of my life that were culpable. Stella deserved better treatment from my hands. Ambition and pride got the better of me, and occasioned this behaviour. I did not think the daughter of Sir William Temple's steward good enough to be the acknowledged wife of the Dean of St. Patrick's. Perhaps the

frequent agonies of my mind might precipitate me into the raving, that ended in idiotism. Oh ! what a fine handle have I given my enemies, and the malicious race of fools in the other world ! But it is now too late,

GOLDSMITH.

If you had not pried into closets, dressing rooms and cabinets, where you had no real business, and told in your mischievous manner what was doing there, posterity would not have been able to take its revenge upon you. But comfort, Mr. Dean ; your real character was not known at the time it would have exposed you, and done you most hurt. Your wit and satire had their full scope, and not a hair of Jonathan was touched whilst he was living. You were loved, perhaps, by none ; admired by many ; and feared by all, by friends as well as foes,

SWIFT.

You are a sensible little fellow ; and let me tell you, I wish, with all my soul, when I declined all thoughts of the army, on the death of king William, instead of herding with wits, and addicting myself to party writing, I had waited, in due time, for a promotion to an English bishoprick ; for which station, you know, wit is not at all necessary. I should never then have been off my guard, and must have behaved with better manners to mankind in general ; and practised some of my own applauded rules of good breeding.

GOLD-

GOLDSMITH,

But I would not have renounced the reputation of your pen and conversation to have worn even the triple crown you so handsomely ridicule in your Tale of a Tub; nor for the glory of the monument, with its flattering inscription, which, I hear, is just erected to me in Westminster abbey. A thousand disagreeable examples in your private life have appeared; **though**, to tell you the truth, your domestic conduct deserves more severe reprobation; but since the days of Lucian, Rabelais, and Cervantes, the world has not exhibited such a master of wit and humour as Jonathan Swift.

CONVERSATION XIII.

COLUMBUS

AND

VASCO DE GAMA.

COLUMBUS.

WHY, sure! you do not assert that your discoveries were equal to mine in magnitude or importance?

GAMA.

But certainly, it was a great matter to get into the Indian Ocean, and to be safe, after having been buffeted by so many storms I met with in passing round the Cape; and to raise a commercial empire there.

COLUMBUS.

But I crossed the vast Atlantic Ocean, three thousand miles over, where no vessel had ever been guided; and found out the new world.

GAMA.

G A M A.

Was there not a rumour, that your project to find India, by sailing Westward, took its rise from the journal of a Spanish pilot who died in your house? But I will not press you for an answer. You were a right-headed and a stout-hearted man, a good geographer and navigator, and deserved the reputation you obtained, as the discoverer of the other hemisphere.

C O L U M B U S.

Nobody ever disputed with me the glory of the discovery. The danger had like to have been all my own. I think you were very near losing the honour of telling your story at the court of Portugal; for you were detained a prisoner at Melinda, and on the point of being put to death by the perfidy of the Moorish king.

G A M A.

This is very true, but my presence of mind preserved me, and I carried the news of my successes to Lisbon. I was treated in a more gracious manner by my sovereign, for my services, than you were by Ferdinand and Isabella.

C O L U M B U S.

My patrons and employers were not competent judges of what I had done for them; and therefore I met with the common fate of great men, whose talents and services are beyond all reward.

But,

But, to be candid, perhaps my personal behaviour might be uncouth, and my expressions not sufficiently courtly. I had followed the coarse occupation of a pilot for such a length of time, that my manners were not likely to be softened by the element I belonged to. I consider Columbus and Gama as the greatest benefactors to mankind the world ever saw, Which of us performed the greater service may be controverted by and by.

G A M A.

While I think of it, let me know, if in the long run you were pleased with every thing that befell you, For a Florentine, one Americus Vesputius, who entered into the service of Emanuel of Portugal, and made a western voyage seven years after your first, had better luck, and was more cunning than Columbus; for he was able to give his name to the new world.

C O L U M B U S.

And pray, were you more fortunate in giving your name to the kingdoms you conquered, or the factories you established? I named an island after myself, and christened several others. But that was not much. I was upon the whole so dissatisfied, and so ignominiously treated, that I had reason to lament a thousand times my ill fate in not having been employed by Henry the Seventh of England. I offered myself, for the purpose of discovery, to that prince, by my brother Bartholomew, who was unluckily taken by pirates in his way to Bristol.

GAMA,

G A M A.

I was loaded with honours, with confidence, with employments : and should not have been refused any thing in the power of the crown to bestow. Whilst you met with rewards of a contrary kind, loss of authority, poverty, malediction, and chains. I, who perhaps did not achieve so much as you did, had a thousand times as much for my pains.

C O L U M B U S.

After all, what did you perform? You explored a new passage to well-known marts of trade. You transported Indian manufactures in your own ships, by the way of the Cape of Good Hope, that used to be conveyed up the Red Sea in small vessels, and were brought into Europe across the Isthmus of Suez.

G A M A.

Nay, I did more than take the trade out of the old channel. Like a true patriot, I obtained the monopoly of the immense Indian commerce, which till then enriched the Venetians, and made it centre in my own country. These commercial profits put life-blood into the veins of Portugal, and gave her a weight in the political scale of Europe. Let me observe, I effected more advantages for Portugal, during my life, than you accomplished for Spain in your time, notwithstanding your boast, that half the world was your own.

C O L U M -

COLUMBUS.

But what a broad foundation of wealth and empire did I lay for Spain! The sun did not set upon all her dominions at once. I found out a new heaven and a new earth for her.

GAMA.

These are pompous words indeed! But if you could have given her moderation of temper, and less extent of territory, it would have been better. Mighty conquests and distant colonies generally drain the mother country of its vital strength, and enable them to set up for themselves at last. Are you acquainted with the victories of the Spaniards, that were obtained with so much blood and slaughter, the depopulation of so many fully inhabited regions, and the putting to excruciating deaths so many of the original inhabitants for their gold? What is got in this manner cannot fail of being useless or pernicious. Notwithstanding the acquisition of the wealth of Montezuma, and the gold and silver mines of Mexico and Peru, Spain owed a great deal of its splendor, power, and riches, during the period that she was eminently flourishing, powerful and wealthy, in the reign of Philip the Second, to the seizing of Portugal, when that invasion swallowed up the fruits of my discoveries and gallant actions in the East. The coffers of Charles the Fifth, the Lord of America, were never full. He accepted loans from his Flemish subjects, and a pension from Henry the Eighth.

COLUMBUS.

I should be sorry to find that Spain was the poorer for the possession of America, and became depopulated by emigrations. But I am not inclined to believe half the stories that go abroad to the disadvantage of the Spanish heroes. I can never think that Cortez and Pizarro were such monsters as they are painted. But what is all this to Columbus? If a bad use has been made of the great things he displayed to their view, it is they, and not he, who are to be condemned.

GAMA.

I hear it is become a great problem, whether the world is better for the discovery of America or not. Bark, Cochineal, and Cocoa, which mankind did very well without, are but poor compensations for the ravage of the human species, and for the indolence, and even the poverty, which the importation of gold and silver from thence (for industry is the true gold mine) has occasioned, even in Spain itself.

COLUMBUS

Have I not lately heard of the horrid slaughter of the unoffending inhabitants of the East, which would not have happened unless Gama had weathered the Cape of Good Hope?

GAMA.

This may possibly be true; but Gama is not liable to any tribunal upon that account. His name stands firm as a rock. He lived without reproach, and finished his career with applause.

COLUM-

COLUMBUS.

Posterity is more grateful to my memory than Ferdinand was to my living merit. Now envy and faction are no more, historians vie with each other who shall do me most justice, and afford me the highest panegyricks.

GAMA.

I am sure I have the greatest reason to be content with my posthumous fame. I have been immortalized by Camoens, my contemporary, countryman, and great heroic poet. He has made my voyage and prosperities the subject of an Epic Poem. The performer of beneficent actions ought not to be forgot, even when the advantages he has procured are over. Camoens has given himself and Gama an existence that must endure, as long as books, poetry, and the Portuguese language shall remain. A new comer to these regions brings me the pleasing account that the *Lusiad* is lately admirably translated into English verse. By this vehicle my story is reanimated, and will be read where the English poetry and the English name extends itself, and that I hear is over all the globe.



CONVERSATION XIV.

Madame de MAINTENON

AND

The Dutchess of CLEVELAND.

CLEVELAND.

YOU still hold up your head very high. But you did not enjoy the reputation of being the wife of Lewis in my time. It was a riddle to all Europe whether you were married or not.

MAINTENON.

As I remember, you sunk into the character of the mistress of Charles the Second, who detected you in the course of your infidelities, and cast you off. You could neither preserve your matrimonial vow, nor be true to the object of your unlawful passion, nor even keep your royal lover to yourself. Your husband, whose father saw into destiny, and dissuaded him from the match, became, through your means, one of the most unfortunate men of the age.

L

CLEVE

CLEVELAND.

I am here as Dutchess of Cleveland ; and wish not to be considered as the wife of Palmer. Though I am exceedingly desirous of an audience, and indeed of a familiar conversation with you, I am afraid it will be very short, if our expressions are not mutually complaisant. I freely acknowledge, Madam, that I was seduced by a King, in the flower of his age, and at the giddy period of my own. The flattery of a royal suitor, and the warmth of my constitution, upon the temperament of which I was induced to believe even virtue and vice depended, ought to be some alleviation. The King, after all, ought to be blamed, as well as myself. My temper and behaviour were totally changed by the restoration ; as indeed were the manners of the nation. When I came up to London, without a fortune, after I had lost my father, I was distinguished for the simplicity of my dress, that made me the admiration of my equals, and procured me many lovers. When I became a court meteor at the balls of the palace, I disappeared as a morning star. Think of my triumph on a public day in Hyde-park ; for, oh, I never can forget it ! When the King stood in conversation with me, by the side of my coach, three quarters of an hour, to the almost total neglect of every body else. No wonder a poor female head was turned by such marks of distinction. The Queen contended with me for ascendancy over the King ; and gave it up. Who could think of the real and homely Amphitryon, when Jove himself was my visitor ? When I had fallen from my innocence, and lost every

every thing for love and for the King, I thought the best thing I could do was to continue to love.

MAINTENON.

Do you fancy, that after I became married to Scarron, any thing could have excused my receiving a gallant?

CLEVELAND.

Your connecting yourself with that cripple was an extraordinary affair. How could you be sure of your constancy to such a creature?

MAINTENON.

Every body is not born with such high passions as you were. My marriage was founded in convenience, and in the advice of my friends. I took a resolution to do my duty, and never to complain. Scarron's wit and good humour supported him under a total want of health, and his death was a real affliction to me.

CLEVELAND.

But yet you accepted of the first invitation of attending on Madame Montespan, and you undertook the superintendence of her natural children. No very reputable employment for a lady of such nice morals, let me tell you!

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MAIN-

MAINTENON.

As the widow of the poet Scarron, I wanted a maintenance. My husband's name and reputation made me known at court. My exemplary behaviour and character for good sense made me sometimes consulted by the King, and laid the foundation of my fortune and advancement to become his wife.

CLEVELAND.

The decline of the interest of Montespan, and the swift progress of your influence with Lewis, occasioned it to be whispered abroad that you had supplanted her, and taken unfair advantages of getting into her place. We both gave up our religion, and that complaisance was well taken. I do not mean to retaliate upon you; but I must hint, that you, as well as myself, were not thought better of than some other court ladies. King William, whose wife I should not have consented to be, observed very freely, that the king of France acted very differently from all other crowned heads, for he made choice of young ministers and an old mistress.

MAINTENON.

But the whole world was undeceived at last; for I was privately married to him; and, if Lewis had been successful against the allies, I should have been publicly crowned Queen of France. I hope you see nothing to find fault with in this proceeding; for I never did any thing in the whole course of my life I thought I had occasion to blush for.

CLEVE-

CLEVELAND.

I formerly exercised the risible muscles of my face to some purpose on many occasions. I could find in my heart to laugh a little at some of the incidents of your life, if I may presume to take the liberty.

MAINTENON.

Yes, I know you and Lord Arlington helped, by mimickry, to drive that virtuous minister Clarendon out of his post and out of the kingdom into exile. Pray, at what would you smile, if I should comply with your inclination?

CLEVELAND.

At your choice of two such husbands. The first, a piece of universal infirmity; and the second, a worn-out king. If Charles Stuart had been as old as Lewis, when we met on our assignation at the Mulberry garden, the first night after his restoration, I might never have been false to my husband's bed, nor lost his honour and my own. You sacrificed all your natural inclinations, in the last stage of your life, to paltry ambition. I dare say, you never had a moment's happiness from that time.

MAINTENON.

But your Ladyship's ridicule does not carry with it any criminal imputation. I was not cen-

fured by any body for what I had done. The sacrifice I made of private friendships to the proprieties and secrecy of the court, were indispensable. I had made my choice of life, and there was no remedy nor retreat. I found there were other things besides love that could take up the thoughts, and employ one's time, though you could not.

CLEVELAND.

I acknowledge, it is very inconvenient to be born with a handsome face and a great deal of sensibility. It is next to impossible to go safe through the world with such companions. Even a homeliness of person is not always a certain protection. My vanity was gratified in being allowed to be the finest woman belonging to the court; and, on my being the King's partner at the balls, and also on his leaving the room when I took my leave. But my desire of admiration was but a secondary source of my misfortunes. My heart was captivated, where my virtue was tainted. My principles, if I ever had any, became corrupted, and I yielded to every disorderly affection, after my first wrong step. The personal grants I received from the crown, were not for as good purposes as the lands of Maintenon were assigned to you: and my gallantries afforded me no leisure to found such a building as you did for the maidens of St. Cyr. Perhaps I may be tempted to drink a glass of Lethe before it is long; for I cannot wholly approve of my own behaviour in the other world.

MAINTENON.

I should be sorry to hear you justify the improper passages of your life, for they were not to the honour of your sex.

CLEVELAND,

I followed but the dictates of an irresistible series of temptations. I suppose I was born under an unlucky planet. Ruinous to your elevation would have proved the lot of such a warm temperament as mine. Your imagination was under the controul of your judgement, and you easily brought your mind to submit to the fatigues both of your humble and exalted station. Your patience and coolness raised you to the sight, tho' not the possession of the crown.

MAINTENON.

Indeed, my dispositions of every sort were the reverse of yours, and produced very different effects.

CLEVELAND,

You had a solemnity and formality that inclined you to prudery: I, a natural levity that carried me to coquetry and beyond it. Pray, Madam, which appearance is most innocent, and which disposition leads to the greater happiness?

MAINTENON.

Bless me! is that a question at this time of day? Do you ask, which of us led the most harmless and pardonable life? It is high time I should recommend you to drink of the water of Lethe; for whilst you continue to remember the love adventures of your real life, you will be sorry you have it not in your power to repeat them in these unembodied regions.



CONVERSATION XV.

TIBERIUS GRACCHUS

AND

NICOLAS GABRINI DE RIENZI.

GRACCHUS.

NAY, it is not for the son of a washerwoman and of a mean publican to compare himself to Gracchus, the son of Cornelia, the grandson of Scipio, the conqueror of Africa!

RIENZI.

We are now in a place where noble birth cannot be of the least advantage. But, as you were an enemy, in the other world, to the insolence of great families, I am sorry that you cannot, in favour of my established merit, overlook my plebeian extraction, when the Roman people could do it, who raised me to be their tribune. Death, you know, is a great leveller.

GRAC-

GRACCHUS.

I have done. But had you as many difficulties to overcome at arriving at your prodigious elevation as I had? Were the Romans worth any body's giving themselves much trouble about? were they the considerable people I left them? come, you will not pretend to say they were.

RIENZI.

They were in no respect the same people. Fifteen centuries make a great difference in the virtues and vices, and the grandeur and declension of a people. We (for I never can forget I was a Roman) had risen, as you must remember, from an imperceptible beginning, even from an original of outlaws and robbers, to the highest pinnacle of human glory and reputation, in the course of a few ages, and we declined very fast into degeneracy, as all other nations had done before us. We fell from our simplicity, our moderation, and public virtue, when the Gracchi fell. You would not have known, I am sure you would not have acknowledged, modern Rome. A new religion, a new language, the natural consequence of invasion and conquest, had given it another appearance. The idea of military renown was extinct. The Eagle was made to give way to the Cross. In short, every thing was essentially changed.

GRACCHUS.

What then was there for you to perform or to obtain? what alterations did you propose or effect?

RIENZI.

RIENZI.

I was conscious of being possessed of some uncommon excellencies, which I resolved to display to the best advantage, and the situation of affairs soon gave me an opportunity to exhibit myself.

GRACCHUS.

Did you wish and wait for an occasion to benefit yourself, or your country, first? which had your first services?

RIENZI.

My first thought was to my own elevation; my next, to advance the prosperity of my native city. I had become eminent for literature; for which Petrarch, my contemporary, commended me, in his verses, and had warmed my imagination with the history of ancient Rome, which I studied night and day, and wanted to inflame my countrymen with the magnificence of my own ideas. I thought the treading in the steps of Tiberius Gracchus would make me a great man, and insure me the Tribunate.

GRACCHUS.

I understood, that modern Rome was incapable of being brought back to the faintest resemblance of my times.

RIENZI.

RIENZI.

But, it was the whole labour of my life, by my conversation and my speeches, to fire my countrymen with the sound of liberty and the glories of antient Rome. I was the most eloquent man of the age; and eloquence, as you found, can do every thing. My oratory was persuasive over the minds of the multitude, as I was certain it would be. The patrician families lorded it over the citizens; justice was sold, all crimes were practised and unpunished, and a revolution was the desire of all, but of the aristocracy, that ruled with a rod of iron.

GRACCHUS.

I own, this situation of things was tempting enough to animate a man of ambition, abilities, and public spirit, to place himself at the head of affairs; and I foresee you were dexterous enough to avail yourself of it,

RIENZI.

The Pope, our Sovereign, had fixed his residence at Avignon, as his predecessors had done for half a century. Profiting myself of his continual absence, and under the stale pretence of redressing grievances by the assistance and clamour of the citizens, I was created Tribune, an office I had pointed out, and described to them, as the only one that could enable me to oppose successfully the tyranny of the patricians.

GRAC.

GRACCHUS.

So you really revived the old names and distinctions !

RIENZI.

The parties really existed, and the interest of the city demanded that weight should be thrown into the empty scale of the plebeians.

GRACCHUS.

Well, did you procure them any solid advantages, by means of the title and office they invested you with ?

RIENZI.

Yes, and to myself too. I rewarded my adherents, and punished offenders of all degrees, who swarmed in the city and the suburbs, with the greatest severity and impartiality. I became as much the darling of the people as you ever had been. I was always glad when I could gratify them with confiscations and capital executions of the nobles. I had a natural and avowed antipathy to that order of men, whose birth was so much above mine, and I embraced every opportunity of trampling upon them.

GRACCHUS.

When was your office to expire ? You know that the people of Rome, as the origin of all power,

power, delegated this important trust but for one year; though they re-elected me Tribune for the second year.

RIENZI.

My Tribunate was to have been the duration of one year. But I was not able to keep it longer than seven months. I fancy, for I will not dissemble, that courage was not my constitutional virtue. I was frightened out of my office by the alarm of a conspiracy against me; and I ran away and sequestered myself for a considerable time.

GRACCHUS.

Therein you fell short of the character of Gracchus. He never was afraid to do his duty, nor was a coward in his life or death.

RIENZI.

But, after a few years, fortune smiled upon me again. I had the judgement, or the presence of mind, to throw myself at the feet of my Sovereign; for it became convenient then to acknowledge one. He imprisoned me. He absolved me, and let me go to Rome, with a legal commission of the office of Tribune, and with ample powers. I, who had tasted and relished the sweets of domination, was anxious to return to execute all my schemes, and especially to make myself terrible to my enemies. I overcame all difficulties; I got myself re-inthroned; and, for a time, all went well.

GRAC-

GRACCHUS.

What am I to expect?

RIENZI.

The citizens began to observe the friend of Democracy procured himself a new title, independent of their donation: the man of temperance became bloated by the luxury of the table, and was fond of expence. The professed enemy of tyranny shewed a disposition to absolute power, raised troops for the protection of his person, framed taxes that became burdensome, and could not conceal a temper that made him at last odious to the common people, upon whom his existence depended.

GRACCHUS.

So, I perceive your enemies would not permit you to die quietly in your bed!

RIENZI.

Neither did yours. I confess, I grew intoxicated with uncontrouled power, with splendor, and with wine. But, however, I perished in the service of the people, though by a base hand. The patrician families, especially the Gibelline, whose artifices I had often eluded, hatched a conspiracy that my spies gave me no intelligence of, and I died by assassination. The last words that fell from my lips were, "Liberty, Property, and the Good of the People!"

GRAC-

GRACCHUS.

If you had lived longer, you would have deserted their cause, and made yourself their master the first opportunity.

RIENZI.

That would never have been possible; nor would it have been for my interest. Will you candidly tell me what you would have done, if you had not been murdered by the order of Scipio?

GRACCHUS.

I would never have left the people till they had left me. Perhaps some disappointment made me at first take to the side of the Plebeians; for my relations belonged to the Patrician order. But the people had been oppressed, and I knew how to defend their rights and privileges. I could not see any reason why the common people should not have a restitution of their landed property, and be delivered from the monopoly of the other faction.

RIENZI.

But did you not accomplish too much for your new friends? and did **not the party** you put yourself at the head of, become too intractable for the tranquillity of the state? and was not the consequence of all this a licentiousness and impatience of submission, and the rejection of subordination, that, in the end, subverted the constitution?

GRAC-

GRACCHUS.

My first plan was defeated by a brother tribune. I was obliged to extend my demand of lands and farms for my constituents. It became my principle to govern the many by the many. I considered it my indispensable duty to rectify all abuses in the state, to prepare and to press Bills of resumption, to look into exorbitant grants, to enforce levelling and sumptuary laws, to impeach a wicked administration, and to make the nobility be courted and feared by the common people.

RIENZI.

There you spoke out indeed. But can it be right to destroy property; to let loose the multitude (though I should have had no scruples if it had served my turn) upon the gentry of a nation; and ought the intention to be crowned with success, which would stimulate and enable the poor to govern the rich?

GRACCHUS.

The senate, in my time, domineered over the majesty of the people. They would not suffer one of the commons to marry into a patrician family. They centered all wealth and property in themselves. The senators would have voted all the Roman people to have been slaves, but for the interposition of a tribune. For my part, I determined to be rather an incendiary than a slave; and I lost my life (and I do not repent of it) as my brother Caius did some years afterwards, in the cause of liberty. But the title of Tribune continued dear

M to

to the people, I find, and was the name you hoped to have preserved them by, against the aristocracy of modern Rome. Were I to return to earth again, I would be the champion of the people (against whom every government is daily making encroachments), and I would live and die in defence of the common rights of mankind.

RIENZI.

And I would make the most of myself and my eloquence, and work my way into importance, by every means in my power. I would not suffer any body to be greater than myself, and, as I was descended from the dregs of the people, I would take my vengeance on the rich and the men of high Birth.



CONVERSATION XVI.

WILLIAM SHAKSPEARE

AND

DAVID GARRICK.

SHAKSPEARE.

SO, because you raised a Temple in honour of me, at Hampton, you perhaps expect that I should take the present opportunity of thanking you for that obliging mark of your respect!

GARRICK.

It helped at least to increase the number of your admirers, and was as much visited as your own monument at Stratford.

SHAKSPEARE.

I was too plain a man to desire or deserve an apotheosis. A good repute, whilst I was living, was enough for me. But all the time you were erecting the well-proportioned dome, and intended to place my statue within it, were you not contriving as much for your own glory as for mine? did you not flatter yourself, that whilst the eye was on *Shakspeare*, the thoughts would be upon *Garrick*?

M 2

GAR-

GARRICK.

I will not pretend that vanity had no share in it. But setting aside all hopes of the sweet reward of praise for what I did, I assure you, that gratitude alone would have prompted me to have reared a more expensive and a nobler building. For you had done so much for me, that I thought I never could do enough for you. Twenty years after this particular expression of my veneration for you, I projected and conducted the celebration of a Jubilee, to your memory, upon your native Avon. Neither the Olympic shows, nor the triumphs of ancient, nor the processions of modern Rome, afforded a more brilliant spectacle; for the whole pomp of music, poetry, and painting, was displayed on the occasion. The re-exhibition of the festival of the Stratford Jubilee, upon the London theatre, gratified all ranks of the crowded metropolis; and besides, put ten thousand pounds into my pocket.

SHAKSPEARE.

If my name has been of such service to you, you have been heartily welcome to it.

GARRICK.

Unless I deceive myself, the names of Shakspeare and Garrick will go down to posterity together. I made it the ambition of my active life to obtain a few flowers from your unfading wreath.

SHAK-

SHAKSPEARE.

Alas! is the commendation of those who come after us so much worth the seeking and acquiring? Is it the proper business of life to be getting applause?

GARRICK.

To me, the approbation of the publick was a solid advantage. It shewed me the way to prosperity, and put me in the possession of every sub-lunary gratification. But whatever Garrick owed to the favour of the world, the world is indebted to Shakspeare for Garrick. For I confess to you, that my splendor as an actor principally arose from the parts I sustained upon the stage in your dramatic works.

SHAKSPEARE.

I have heard from every body, that you were the most universal actor that ever lived. Lear, Richard, Hamlet, Romeo, Benedict, as you performed them, produced such astonishing effects as made the audience imagine the fictitious scenes to be real life and character.

GARRICK.

Indeed, whilst the whole house was ringing with applause, the contagion was sometimes enough to make me almost forget I was a mere player. But to resume. I began in reality to conclude (after the town had pronounced it) that

M 3

I was

I was born to act what you were born to write. I brought as many of your pieces forward as I could, in order to shew myself as an actor, and also to do you all the justice in my power. It is acknowledged, that I have made you better understood than you had been; that you are now more studied in the closet, and oftener called for on the stage. Your plays bring fuller houses than Beaumont and Fletcher's (though, after the Restoration, they had the stage almost to themselves) and are universally allowed to have more merit than theirs. I question whether they could have written so well, if you had not gone before them, for they are confessedly very easy to be tracked in you now.

SHAKSPEARE.

If I have had my day in my own century, let it be placed to my good fortune. If my dramatic successors had their hour also on the stage, it was the tribute payable to living worth, to exalted genius, or perhaps in compliance with the rising fashion for looser dialogue and more intriguing plots. Had my Garrick flourished at that period, Shakspeare had not been put upon the shelf.

GARRICK.

Your kind expressions make me feel inexpressible satisfaction.

SHAK-

SHAKSPEARE.

Not so fast, good David ! I wish we may take leave of each other in as placid a temper as we met. You would wonder, if I, who was so very careless of my importance as an author, as not to put out a single edition of my works, should think it worth while to complain of their present number, and also of the sense and nonsense my critics and hyper-critics continually make me speak. This, I own, I could have prevented, by giving myself a little trouble. But when I retired from the stage, I thought no more of plays. If I could be affected by the strife I have occasioned, and the wrong done me by verbal criticism, sorry would you be to observe my indignation rise so high as to prompt me to exhibit an accusation of being disfigured to that degree that it is become impossible for me to know my own plays, as performed on the stage.

GARRICK.

Speak out ! for I am thunder-struck by the insinuation.

SHAKSPEARE.

Has every thing on your side been friendly and fair ? Have I received no disobligations, as well as obligations from David Garrick ?

GARRICK.

I cannot suppose I ever gave Shakspeare offence, and I hope I never did him an injury.

SHAKSPEARE.

Seriously then, it would discontent me to return to earth again, and observe the conduct and characters in some of my best dramatic pieces so confounded and altered, that I should be obliged to disown them. From an enemy I could have expected no better treatment; but, from the hand of a friend, surely this was too much.

GARRICK.

What have I done? Is it possible Garrick could murder Shakspeare?

SHAKSPEARE.

I cannot find in my heart to be sincerely angry with you, for indeed this is no time or place for resentment: and, besides, you know I was of a very placable disposition in the other world. Let me, but for a moment, just expostulate with you on what you have done. I would forgive you, even if you had attempted to inflict as many wounds upon me as the conspirators did upon Julius Cæsar. But gently then—where's my Lear?—where's my Hamlet?—where's——

GARRICK.

I pray you, set down nought in malice. In compliance with the demands of the criticks, respecting the unities of time and place; with the claims of probability and submission to the enlightened intelligence of my contemporaries, I
thought

thought it my duty to prune some of the quibbles, witticisms, and superfluities, that were in some of your tragedies and comedies. Had you lived lower down, I believe you would have been obliged to have done them yourself.

SHAKSPEARE,

I certainly should not have made such havoc. You have now and then mistaken the scope of my drama, and have made exits and entrances I never intended. Why could you not spare the scene of the poor gravediggers, that had stood the test of time, and was so greedily expected by the multitude?

GARRICK.

I am not answerable for all the violence you fancy has been offered you. Davenant, Dryden, and Tate (men who esteemed you only on this side idolatry) took as great liberties with you. They wished to make you more popular by what they did. I followed but the example they set me. Perhaps I shall find Old Ben will be offended with me (as he was by nature surly) for having adapted a comedy or two of his (though to make the humour more intelligible) to the pit and gallery of the present age. But hear me a word in defence of my alteration of Hamlet!

SHAKSPEARE.

Why should I hear you? Your cause is desperate.

GARRICK.

The characters were low,

SHAK-

SHAKSPEARE.

I intended them for low characters.

GARRICK.

The dialogue is not necessary to the action.

SHAKSPEARE.

The drama does not require that every dialogue should be necessary: It is sufficient, if it is incidental.

GARRICK.

It drew off the attention from the principal persons.

SHAKSPEARE.

That which fixes attention, and produces delight, is never a superfluous part in a play.

GARRICK.

The play was so long that the whole could not be represented.

SHAKSPEARE.

You should have shortened some parts less the favourites of the publick.

GARRICK.

What parts could have been better spared?

SHAK.

SHAKSPEARE.

Almost any part, except the Ghost, the Soliloquy, and the last scene. The great excellence of this play is the diversity of its incidents. The grave-diggers produce a scene of a new species. Novelty is of higher value than regularity. In your days every ordinary writer could be regular; but who was original? If you had lived a few months longer, you would have seen the grave-diggers resume their station.

GARRICK.

I begin to be sorry.

SHAKSPEARE.

And I begin to be calm. Let us part whilst we are friends.

GARRICK.

Adieu! thou great Dramatic Poet!

SHAKSPEARE.

Adieu! thou great Actor!



CONVERSATION XVII.

HENRY THE EIGHTH

AND

CHARLES THE FIFTH.

CHARLES.

NO Christian King, I believe, had so many wives to his share; nor had such fortune attend them. Two of them you divorced, two you beheaded, one died in childbed, and one had the good luck to outlive you.

HENRY.

I had an appetite for the sex, and liked the matrimonial state very well.

CHARLES.

And yet, passion did not always direct your choice.

HENRY.

HENRY.

I met with but one whose person I did not like; and there I was deceived, by the flattery of her picture, that Cromwell procured for me.

CHARLES.

Can you review your behaviour to them all without passing a severe judgement on yourself?

HENRY.

I had, every now and then, a little touch of conscience on account of marrying your aunt, my brother's widow, and on the methods I took, after I had cohabited with her for more than twenty years, to get myself unmarried. The superior youth, gaiety, and dexterity of Anna Bullen sharpened my desires, and overturned all the difficulties in my way. The refusal of a dispensation unexpectedly made me the Pope in my own dominions. Had my new Queen been fairly delivered of a son, possibly I might not have put such unhappy constructions on her coquetry, and the freedoms of her behaviour. I found she did not love me, and therefore I left her to her fate, and grew enamoured of Jane Seymour, who, to my great concern, died in consequence of bringing my son Edward into the world. My other Queens, either did not know how to manage my temper, or abused my bed.

CHARLES.

CHARLES.

Love and courtship seem to have been so much the employment of your life, that I wonder you could find leisure or inclination to pursue any thing else.

HENRY.

Wolsey took the trouble of many state matters off my hands, whilst he was living. Cromwell managed my separation from the court of Rome. I always found ready instruments to execute my will and pleasure. I was even master of my parliaments. My proclamations had the force of laws. I found time to write a book against Luther, which obtained for me the title of "Defender of the Faith."

CHARLES.

Your violence, your rapine, your sacrilege, were held in abhorrence by the religious part of mankind. It was marvellous the hand of violence was not raised against you for what you committed. It was said of you, "that you never spared a man in your anger, nor a woman in your lust." Excuse my warmth on this occasion.

HENRY.

My political injustice was but the evil of a day, but became the blessing for ages. My personal faults died with me. But, is sacrilege worse than persecution, or the love of women more odious than

than the Inquisition ? Pray, let our conversation go on without asperity. You did not find me indolent nor ungallant in the two visits you paid me in England ; nor when we met on the Continent ; nor ungenerous, when you accepted a pension from me. Mine was a bustling life. But, I confess, my ruling and unruly passion had a good deal to do with my public conduct. You would laugh perhaps if I should tell you, I wanted to turn my amorous disposition to the benefit of my subjects.

CHARLES.

You wanted, I suppose, to furnish yourself with heirs enough to your crown ?

HENRY.

Certainly I did. But matters did not turn out according to my wishes. The son I left to succeed me inherited a weak constitution, and I foresaw my hopes of delivering England from the domination of a foreign yoke, would be checked for a time at least.

CHARLES.

Why ! had you any kindness for the new religion, or regard for spiritual things, who seemed to be so much addicted to sensual ones ?

HENRY.

From the moment I emancipated England from Rome, I had other notions of futurities, and determined to enable my successor to continue to be
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the head of the church. Besides, the older I grew, and the more I was weaned by bodily infirmities from women, the more seriously I thought of my own dissolution, and the effect of it upon the nation.

CHARLES.

To be sure, the son you left was not able to tread in your matrimonial footsteps. I myself lived long enough to see Mary, my first cousin, undoing very fast and successfully what you had taken such pains to make secure and employed such resolution about.

HENRY.

The recollection of these disappointments is unpleasant to me, and are no occasion of triumph to you. Pray candidly inform me, in your turn, of some important passages of your life.

CHARLES.

Of what parts of it do you wish me to give any account?

HENRY.

Of the true causes of your abdication, which so surprized all Europe.

CHARLES.

I was, and I think in your time, possessed of the most extensive dominions of any sovereign, and obtained the greatest character for policy and martial

martial achievements. I had worn myself out in acquiring them. My declining health convinced me I could not enjoy them much longer. That I might not be subject to a reverse of fortune, for I had been lately baffled on the coast of Africa, and at the siege of Metz, that I might have a little time to myself before I died, that I might see whether the world could do without me or not, and that I might gratify my vanity by a recital of my great actions in a speech composed on that occasion, in consequence of the resolution I was come to, to be pronounced in the face of all Europe, I abdicated all my dominions in both hemispheres, and gave them to my son Philip. I wanted my brother Ferdinand to have given up the Imperial dignity, that Philip might have been also Emperor of Germany. As for myself, I went into retirement, in a monastery in Placenzia, in Estremadura; and in that agreeable climate I hoped to be quiet in my thoughts, and unmolested with bodily pains.

HENRY.

I own, you furnished yourself with a number of reasons for taking this extraordinary step. But did you never repent of your measures? Did you wish yourself in the world again or not?

CHARLES.

Yes, and too soon for the tranquillity of my mind. For my slender pension was ill paid; and now and then I formed inclinations to reassume my greatness; for I began to think I had given away too much, and not to the most deserving.

N

HENRY.

HENRY.

But Philip would not have suffered you to have repented to any purpose, of your resignations, if you had set about any schemes for your restoration. Royalty, once enjoyed, cannot be given up without heart-breaking. You had a mind to imitate Sylla, I suppose, or Dioclesian; and you were soon as much concerned for what you had done, as it is believed they were. Were I to reign a second time, my successor should be obliged to death, and not to me, for my crown. Pray, how did you pass your time, and did it hang heavy upon your hands?

CHARLES.

I employed it in riding at small distances from the monastery, upon a little horse, with a single attendant on foot, in conversation with my confessor, and in the observance of the most rigid rules of the order. I passed many of my hours also in the cultivation of my garden, in contemplation, and with some excellent mechanics I brought and kept about me. To be free with you, on observing the unequal goings of my clocks, which had been fabricated in the exactest manner, I ceased to wonder I could not procure uniformity of sentiments, that my plans in the great world had such different effects on mankind from what I expected, and that so few of my projects succeeded.

HENRY.

HENRY.

But I think your whim (for, to tell you the truth, I am no stranger to it) bordered upon madness (a distemper you might have inherited from your mother Joanna), when you determined that your funeral obsequies should be performed upon you whilst you were yet alive.

CHARLES.

This last act of my life was also deserving applause. I became weary of existence. I had submitted to many voluntary mortifications. My brain was clouded with religious melancholy, and I thought that, next to my act of abdication, this unprecedented performance of the burial service over me would be meritorious, and entitle me to much renown. Permit me to describe it to you in a few words, for it was my own invention. My tomb was erected in the chapel. My domestics marched thither in funeral procession, with black tapers in their hands: I followed in my shroud, and was laid in my coffin with great formality. The service for the dead was chaunted, and I joined in the prayers that were offered for the tranquillity of my soul, mingling tears with those of my attendants. The ceremony closed with the sprinkling of holy water on the coffin; and the company departed. Then I arose out of my coffin, and retired to my chamber, to meditate on the awfulness of the late transaction.

HENRY.

The representation was truly dramatic, and worthy of the best tragic poet. But your behaviour was fitter for a monk than a king. Your

power of description gives me some idea of your talent for speaking, for which you were once famous. If I am not mistaken, you were so much affected and fatigued by the last part you acted, that it led immediately to your funeral procession in earnest. Pray whose conduct do you think will appear to the most advantage, in the eyes of impartial posterity, the wiving of Henry the Eighth, or the abdication and the funeral service over the living Charles the Fifth?

CHARLES.

When the pleasures and business of life are over, it is time to wish to live no longer. To retire to forget the world, which may soon forget us, when new actors are to make their appearance, and our own parts are performed, is surely rational and worthy of admiration. In the hour of prosperity, death is never a welcome visitor. Amidst comfortable enjoyments, who but must think of life? Those are the things that make us unwilling or afraid to die. As I had lived, I thought I had nothing to do but to repent, to meditate, and to get quit of a miserable being. The great Saladin is not more commended for his victories, than for his manner of taking leave of life. I yielded my breath with a composure no less exemplary. I copied not the Saracen; for I meant to be an original: but I thought I imitated Dioclesian well, in abandoning all greatness, and choosing a delicious spot for contemplation and privacy. None about your bed of sickness ventured to put you in mind of your approaching dissolution, till a few hours before it took place. I lived with more glory than yourself; and finished the last scene of life better than you did; and therefore I think posterity must decide in my favour.

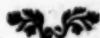
HENRY.

HENRY.

It was very well known, that whatever was put into my head was not easy to be displaced. It might therefore not be thought prudent to tell me every day that I was mortal, for I knew that already; and to disturb my acts of government. It was time enough to go, when I was summoned away. But when it became necessary to impart the notice, I behaved with as much submission and less superstition than yourself. The next age may canvass our lives more strictly than our manner of dying. They may pronounce us both to be madmen, though in a different way, for aught I know. But our passions, the movers of the human machine, took a different turn. Yours carried you into the field, flushed you with conquest, and disposed you to thin the numbers of mankind, which my incontinent desires prompted me to multiply and perpetuate. By venturing upon six wives, I intended to adorn my court with a royal progeny, and to prevent a vacancy by death, or by abdication, on the thrones of Kings. Who do you think now deserves to be most talked of?

CHARLES.

After all, I must confess, that the last act of my life was extravagant; but at least it was the fruit of extravagant humiliation and piety. Whereas the whole of your pilgrimage was passed in the gratification of pride, insolence, and the most outrageous selfish appetites.



CONVERSATION XVIII.

CATHARINE of Medicis,

AND

SARAH Dutchess of Marlborough.

SARAH.

THE court of death does not require a Gentleman Usher for introduction. Therefore I make my approaches with the less ceremony, but with all possible civility. You might have overlooked *Me*, though I was not used to it elsewhere, but it was impossible not to distinguish Catharine of Medicis. I think, Madam, no two ladies of modern times have done more to be talked of than ourselves.

CATHARINE.

I was a female disciple of Machiavel, and triumphed over the enemies of the French monarchy, by putting into practice the principles I learned in his school.

SARAH.

S A R A H.

I own, you acquired a great character; but I cannot think it a good one, whatever you may do.

CATHARINE.

A woman who rolled in the lofty sphere I was born and bred to shine in, had not leisure to stoop to the humble qualifications that belonged to the ordinary part of my sex. I have been the wife and widow of Henry the second of France, the mother of three succeeding Kings, and Queen regent.

S A R A H.

You certainly had titles and power enough in all conscience; to all which indeed you were equal.

CATHARINE.

And I was fit for the times I lived in; for they required much simulation and dissimulation, and a great deal of queen-craft.

S A R A H.

I wish you had not so frequently exercised the last quality you so eminently possessed; for, to tell you the truth, it is that has made your memory so odious.

CATHARINE.

Pray, what particular instance do you allude to? But I can conjecture what you must mean.

SARAH.

The part you acted in the massacre, on Bartholomew's day.

CATHARINE.

I guessed right. This circumstance, which did not come to your knowledge till two hundred years afterward, was magnified in descending through such a long course of time : and besides, the story has been exaggerated by Hugonot authors. Davila, the great historian, and my countryman, vindicated me from many accusations and calumnies.

SARAH.

I was no great reader of books in the other world ; for cards, in the younger part of my life, took up a great deal of my time : and better had it been if they had totally engrossed yours ! But I was assured, that all the writers on the subject of the brutal work of that day have expressed their wishes it could have been blotted from all memory ; for, under the invitation of a cheerful solemnizing the marriage of Henry of Navarre with the king's sister, your own daughter, the most daring breach of hospitality was committed by

by the Catholics, by your advice, under your immediate directions, and at last, in the name, and with the sanction, of the King himself. I take it for granted that Coligni, Henry IV. Sully, de Thou, and other illustrious shades, avoid the sight of you.

CATHARINE.

They have, I own it, frowned upon me as they passed by ; but have said nothing. The dignity I always wore in their presence did not quit me. Neither fear, shame, nor contrition, that haunts the conscience of weak women, appeared in my looks. Really, none but Catharine could have got so well through life, as I did. Henry was attached to his mistress, who was his favourite, till he died. As long as he lived, I had no influence over his heart, nor was admitted into his counsels. When I had got through these trying businesses tolerably well, I was to act in the high station of Queen regent. Between the Guises, the Huguenots, my own children, and my ownself, I really had enough to do. But I did not shrink from it. I was obliged to play the stateswoman, and go through my work. The Huguenots were enemies to the king and kingdom. I saw clearly, they never could be overcome but by being overreached and deceived by this stratagem. A blow against them had been planned several years before this was executed, and had the approbation of the Pope ; which in those days was a great matter. I copied after the Sicilian Vespers.

SARAH.

S A R A H.

And did not your heart revolt at the machinations of your head?

C A T H A R I N E.

You, who shuddered at the supposed intention of converting you to the church of Rome (though it was giving you a religion at the same time, for you were living without any) would have been too full of scruples to have hatched the contrivance I did to serve our cause; and was too fearful a creature to have been even a spectator, from the windows of the palace, of the executions, even though you had been a maid of honour in my court. But I, who had been the niece of a former Pope—I, who was instigated by the reigning Pontiff, and had an absolution from all guilt, very readily gave the word to destroy Huguonots and Heretics, on the score of religion. I am sure that sound policy must acknowledge, that the fewer the enemies of the state the better.

S A R A H.

But I am sorry that one of my own sex should so willingly, or even through necessity, have undertaken this cruel business. It was fitter for Nero than Catharine of Medicis, a lady possessed of such personal charms, such beauty, delicacy, eloquence, and feminine attractions.

CATHA-

CATHARINE.

Perhaps I could now have wished, those necessary ends could have been attained by less perfidious means, and with less bloodshed. But, if you will believe me, I thought that neither my religion, family, nor self, could have been secure, without striking the stroke I did. I fancied all day long, and dreamed continually, that the Admiral and his party would dethrone my family and destroy the monarchy. But even you, who understood the arts and external appearances of a court, would not have imagined, that I was meditating any thing but refinements on pleasure, and improvements in luxuriousness and gallantries. So much dexterity was I possessed of!

SARAH.

It is not natural to think of danger during the gaieties of pleasure. But who could escape, when Catharine, who became another Circe, presided at every banquet, and intoxicated her guests into the embraces of sleep, in order to destroy them? The King, whose youth was not hardened into cruelty, I find, began to waver about giving the promised signal: the duke of Guise trembled, lest his revenge on the Admiral, for the death of his father, should not take place; and nothing but the unrelenting spirit of the Queen-mother, that slept neither by night or by day, could accomplish the bloody business at last. The Hugonots were destroyed by your smiles, who might have been put upon their guard by a single frown.

frown. I will not harrow up your soul with the mention of Bartholomew day again. I believe you had trouble enough, to the end of your life, after this tragedy was over.

CATHARINE.

I suppose, if the truth were known, you had a difficult part to perform in life.

SARAH.

My difficulties were not so great as yours. Religion, notwithstanding the opprobrious terms of high and low church, wore a milder aspect in my time; and, though the state parties of Whig and Tory ran high, they did not beget poison or affassination. Astrology and sorcery, which were employed in your court for criminal purposes, were unknown in that of my Queen. People were brought into the court which I served, and were placed and displaced, without being in danger of their lives.

CATHARINE.

There was spirit enough in my contemporary Elizabeth. Anne, your sovereign, made a good mother and an obedient wife; but was a timid Queen.

SARAH.

The court of Queen Anne had none of the splendor and gallantries of Catharine of Medicis.
It

It was however a very respectable one, but became a good deal disquieted by parties. We had high competitions for power and places. But to take away your contemptuous opinion of us, I can assure you, that it was the incessant employment of the greatest part of her reign to preserve the balance of Europe, and to pull down the power of France.

CATHARINE.

You talk like a politician! and what did you contribute to this prodigious business? But, however, a good deal was done, for Torcy has acknowledged to me, that France was in your time brought very low.

SARAH.

I took care to become the favourite of my mistress, who, to tell you the truth, met me half-way, and was as glad to become mine. My interest with her and the great merit of my husband, Lord Marlborough, put him at the head of the confederate army, who succeeded in taking every town he laid siege to, and who won every battle he fought.

CATHARINE.

Well! I should like to have seen the handsome Sarah Jennings, the wife, the mother, the good domestic woman, engaged in this field of politics, and who, according to her present account and notions, must have been quite out of her element. You governed Marlborough, I suppose, and also queen Anne, and dictated the orders to the army!

SARAH.

SARAH.

Your raillery seasons our conversation.

CATHARINE.

Seriously then, I know very well you had a great influence for many years; that you rose to a prodigious height of power, connexions, and riches; and that you lost all your consequence by your pride and spirit of revenge. Was it not so?

SARAH.

I was at one time, I confess, the most considerable woman, of a subject, in Europe: and was at last supplanted by one I had introduced, to be a sort of deputy, in my absence. I never forgave her, nor the party, nor even the Queen, for the ingratitude I was rewarded with.

CATHARINE.

And so, you have been under as many difficulties as myself! But you certainly had not all the acquirements necessary for a court; for you lost your greatness by your own fault. Had you lived two centuries higher, and been elevated as Catharine was, you would have done as she did, and then you would not have been outwitted. You had too much moderation by half.

SARAH.

S A R A H.

I was an English woman, and therefore would never have written my revenge in characters of blood. You were an Italian, and gave your conscience to your Jesuit. Could I lead my life over again in the upper regions, I would correct the impetuosity of my temper, and be a more submissive servant to the Queen.

CATHARINE.

And I would have always behaved suitably to the royalty of my condition. Like Sylla (excuse the pedantry of the allusion) I would have been bountiful to my friends; but the destruction of my enemies; and I would never have forgot, no not for one moment, that I had been born and bred in Italy.



CONVERSATION XIX.

CHARLES the SECOND

AND

The Earl of SHAFTSBURY.

CHARLES.

I GAVE you my opinion of you, in the other world, before we quarrelled, precisely in these words, "Shaftsbury, you are the wickedest fellow in my dominions!"

SHAFTSBURY.

And you may recollect my instant and familiar reply, "Of a subject, I believe I am."

CHARLES.

You were not able to walk me leisurely out of all my dominions; as you boasted you would.

SHAFTS-

SHAFTSBURY.

As a politician, I had no other game to play, but to make the attempt. I had no antipathy to yourself, even at that time, nor even when I desired leave to abandon England, and to retire to Carolina; but I dreaded the vengeance of your brother, if he should come to reign. If my nephew Halifax had not opposed me in the Exclusion Bill, I could have made it up with you tolerably well. But I was become desperate, and I made you believe I had got ten thousand merry boys concealed in London, ready to rise at the word of command; just as Pompey's armed legions were to do, at the stamp of his feet. Your conversation with Lord Howard, who told you all he knew, at the lodgings of the chaste Dutchess of Portsmouth, was overheard by Lord Mordaunt, who advised me to get away as fast as I could.

CHARLES.

Your going off in disguise, and escaping to Amsterdam, was no proof of your courage, nor confidence in your strength against the crown. Your death was ignoble, in the arms of Walcot and Ferguson. You lived in a continual consternation. You would not take a wink of rest, but in your cloaths, to be ready to start up. You was a singular spectacle to all about you; for they possessed themselves, that when you slept, you kept your eyes open. The Dutch served you right, in not suffering you to come into their magistracy, for they remembered the position in one of your speeches, for which Offory handsomely exposed

O

you

you to your face, in the House of Lords, that "Holland must be destroyed." You had so much offended me, that I wished not to see you any more; for you was a monster of ingratitude. I raised you to an earldom, to the chancellorship, and made you president of the council framed by Sir William Temple. I trusted you, when I knew you did not deserve to be trusted. I endeavoured to overlook your former disobligations, and I bore with your treason as long as possible.

SHAFTSBURY.

I have now no reason to be afraid of your sending me to the Tower, nor have occasion to skulk from your presence. I acknowledge the versatility of my temper, and of my principles. I was, as well as yourself, under the weakness of astrology. When Cromwell once threw out a word, tending to the offer of making me king, I thought the prediction of my greatness, by a Dutch doctor, was going to be verified. But he did nothing more for me, than make me one of his Lords. I was a considerable person before your restoration, and was equal to any post under your government. You was serving yourself, when you was advancing me. I thought you could not do too much for me, when I became a zealous royalist; and after the accident of being thrown out of my carriage in Holland, in my deputation from both Houses to you, with their votes in your favour. It occasioned an incurable abscess in my side, that embittered my life, and shortened my days: to which, no doubt, my perturbation of spirits contributed something. In the last act of my political existence I seriously thought this calamity

lamity was a just judgement upon me, for consenting to bring you home without conditions. Had I foreseen my dangerous voyage to Holland, and my cold reception there, I would not have waited for the tardy proceedings of Sydney, Russell, nor of the English nor Scotch patriotic band of conspirators; but I would have saved my country alone.

CHARLES.

Your party was rejoiced when they were informed you had decamped; for your fury or your terror would have ruined them, your family, and yourself. From your quickness in changing sides, the wits, as I remember, nicknamed you *Shift-bury*, and the poet Dryden stigmatized you under the character of Achitophel. As you was a shameless man, you was not ashamed to recount the notorious apostacies of your political life.

SHAFTSBURY.

Though I seemed to be fond of changing sides, I preserved the confidence of my party, and was always at the head of it. I had taken a resolution not to change any more. With a view of obtaining the great seal, I suffered myself to lay under a suspicion of advising the shutting up the Exchequer, for which Clifford was rewarded with the Treasurer's staff. I set myself to arm you with more prerogatives than I ought to have done, and more than it was safe to trust you with. But you had not steadiness enough to pursue the plan I laid down. From that moment, I determined

to quit you, and to put myself under the protection of the country party.

CHARLES.

I never meant to make any minister popular by turning him out. This kept the treasurer Southampton, your uncle, in office to his death. I availed myself of the public resentment against Lord Clarendon, that male prude; though it was for another reason I let him fall. His banishment removed him too far off to injure or disoblige me. Your mischievous fertility of invention hurt me more after you were turned out, than your abilities did me service whilst you were in employment. From a discontented courtier you commenced an unrelenting patriot, and turned the head of my favourite Monmouth, who, but for you, might have been kept in the pale of his duty. You performed the part of a demagogue very well. Your tempting language to the ambition of Lord Effex, "Come over to us, my Lord; and we will make you Lord Lieutenant of Ireland," was enough to make me fancy, that England was more than half metamorphosed into a republic.

SHAFTSBURY.

I would never have come again into your service. I knew I had offended the Duke of York, whom you suffered to reign whilst you was alive, beyond reparation and forgiveness. The people forgave me, and that was enough for me. I trembled for the religion and liberties of my country. You are ready to smile to hear me talk at
this

this rate, when you understood I lived under the open profession of Deism, and knew I once intended to render you more absolute. But the gigantic strides of Popery obliged me to make the most of Oates's plot; for the advantage of the Protestant religion; which is the only public one that can keep out slavery.

CHARLES.

Your tampering with the witnesses in that business was scandalous, and disgraced the Protestant cause you appeared a champion for. The whole was a forgery; and no man was more convinced of it than yourself.

SHAFTSBURY.

Then what have you to answer for, who signed the death warrant for Lord Stafford, and the sufferers for the Popish plot, if you believed them innocent at the same time!

CHARLES.

The times condemned them, and an ignoramus jury preserved you. You died in a good season for yourself and for England. Either a commonwealth or a despotism, like that of France, whose politics, fashions, and religion, I was supposed to be in love with, must have followed, if your opposition had not been crushed.

SHAFTSBURY.

Come, Charles, for here a perfect democracy prevails, candidly confess, which of us was the worse man of the two? Rochester, your companion, shrewdly observed, "you never said a silly thing, and never did a wise one."

CHARLES.

That, I hope, was perfectly true; and it was much to my credit: for my wit was my own; but my actions were my minister's.

SHAFTSBURY.

Was the bargain for your receiving one hundred thousand pounds a year from France the work of Danby your treasurer? I thought you avowed it your own measure. Was there no secret kept from your five ministers, who were deservedly christened the Cabal? Was there no private treaty with France, when your intriguing sister the Dutchess of Orleans came over, inscrutable to your ostensible ministers, which an English one would have scrupled to sign, and yet you ventured to ratify? Something was suspected about your making an alteration in church and state, after Clarendon was sent about his business, and of your conquering and making a partition of Holland. I never knew enough to divulge it to parliament; for I would have had the head of the adviser, as I threatened on another occasion. You was a prince of profound dissimulation, of
apparent

apparent good nature and clemency, but, when found out, more like Tiberius, in disposition as well as physiognomy, than Titus or Trajan.

CHARLES.

I was taught, it was better to accept a great sum from a generous king, than to be beholden for it to five hundred of my insolent subjects. By this I was enabled to rule for some years without a parliament. I took up and laid down my ministers with the utmost indifference, when they could do me no more service, and I thought it would gratify the public humour.

SHAFTSBURY.

But you did not choose to give up the overbearing Maitland to the clamours of a whole nation. You put by all the accusations against him, with this remark, unworthy of an English King, "I perceive Lauderdale has done a number of bad things against the people of Scotland; but I cannot perceive he has done any thing against my interest." As if a King could have a separate interest from his subjects!

CHARLES.

I dare not assert, I made so good a King as I might have done. I soon grew weary of application to business, and longed to be in the arms of pleasure: but, when it was necessary to rouse myself, I became my own minister. I had a mind to follow the example of my subjects, and to be

even with them for their indifferent behaviour to me. I believe you think I succeeded in this. We were often tired of each other. But I did not lose my popularity for any length of time. When I was seized with a great illness at Windsor, my people were frightened out of their senses, and thought it was like the end of the world. Nobody wanted me dead, that my brother might be King. The nation went into a long mourning for me, and I believe has reason to wish me alive again ; which you cannot pretend for yourself.

SHAFTSBURY.

What do you think the historians of your reign will say of you ?

CHARLES.

I shall make as good a figure in history as yourself. Impartial posterity will make allowances for the fatigues of royalty, and the temptations to which it is subject. The part of a King is more difficult to perform than that of a privy counsellor. The person in Quevedo, who expected to find as many crowned heads as common people in Elyzium, and saw but four or five, upon his expression of astonishment, was told, "they are all that ever were." No one in his right mind would wish to be a King ; for who is equal to the task ? But to return. As to Lauderdale, he shewed himself so fit an instrument to go all lengths, that I was unwilling to make him a sacrifice. Besides, I observed his unwieldiness would not let him last much longer. To tell you the truth, I began
to

to have as indifferent an opinion of mankind, as I had of myself. I found servility, stubbornness, incapacity, corruption, and treachery in my servants of every denomination; and I presume courts will never be without such attendants, and therefore convenience and policy had the most to do in my choice. Virtue in men, and chastity in women, were qualities I seldom looked for, lest I should be disappointed. They appeared as the poetical rarity of a black swan.

SHAFTSBURY.

No one has more to answer for, towards corrupting the morals of both sexes, than yourself. From your court all integrity and modesty had taken their flight; and the satyrs, instead of the graces, were to be found there. To please you, and it is not at the expence of truth, let me acknowledge, you were the most accomplished gentleman of the age, and that you had not a grain of ill nature in your composition. You took the great seal from me in as perfect good humour as you gave it me the year before. Your refusals were more obliging than the favours of your father. You had too much influence, for you made vice itself fashionable, and set the fashion in all things. You told your stories well, and you had many to relate, but too often, and to the same company. When the crown was off, the King was seldom seen. Your feeding your ducks in St. James's Park was esteemed a piece of condescension: and your shewing yourself in the Mall was very popular, though nobody hardly could keep pace with you in walking. If you had loved power better than pleasure you might have enslaved us at
the

the Restoration. In a word, you meant to make every body as happy as yourself; but it was at the expence of all principle. You never continued in the true interest of your country; but you was a polite husband, a faithless lover, a pensioned King,
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CHARLES.

Odd's fish! if you are entering into personal invective, I must leave you. If you will admit the truth of my brother's expression to me in the house of Lords, after your speech, which occasioned the disgrace of treasurer Clifford, "What a villain of a Chancellor have you got?" I will allow, with the utmost frankness, the truth of the confession of my grandfather Henry the Fourth, to the Spanish ambassador, that "We Kings are sometimes great Rogues."



CONVERSATION XX.

Earl of CHATHAM

AND

Cardinal RICHELIEU.

CHATHAM.

I Endeavoured to find out your Eminence very early upon my admission into these shades; for I was told, in the upper region, by my friends as well as by my enemies, that I bore a surprizing resemblance to you, on account of the intrepidity of my temper, the precision of my notions, and the magnificence of my mind. I am, or rather I was, William Pitt, Earl of Chatham, Secretary of State to the last and to the present King of England. The same ardour for making our country become great, and the same unremitted desire of being the first men of our age and nation, took possession of us both, and invigorated our conduct.

RICHE-

RICHELIEU.

I rejoice at the appearance of congenial merit. Your aspect bespeaks you a person of uncommon worth, and to be infinitely elevated above the insignificant herd of Kings and Ministers, who pass in continual review before me, and are unworthy of my notice and conversation. Whatever you are pleased to say about yourself will excite my attention.

CHATHAM.

An unbounded love of fame I avow to have been the predominant passion of my soul. It seemed to be coeval with myself, and interwoven in my constitution. I sacrificed every consideration at its shrine. Finding myself a martyr to an hereditary gout, I abstained from all dangerous pleasures and vulgar gratifications. I enriched my understanding with a great deal of early knowledge. I discovered in myself extraordinary powers of elocution. I cultivated them with the greatest diligence, and obtained a seat in the senate by family interest (for my patrimonial income was but an annuity of one hundred pounds a year), where I soon distinguished myself, and put my oratorical faculties to immediate exertion.

RICHELIEU.

Ambition is the failing of only noble minds. I had rather, like Cæsar, have been the first man in a village than the second man in Rome. I had
a more

a more than ordinary portion of that quickening incentive to glittering actions, and it was indulged me, to the utmost, in the unrivalled management of the affairs of the greatest monarchy in Europe. I armed myself with power and titles, to aggrandize France, and to make myself terrible to my enemies.

CHATHAM.

I know you displayed the great politician, but you stuck at nothing to throw splendour on yourself or your country. You inflamed parties at home; you encouraged rebellion abroad, and fomented discord all over the world, and was Machiavel himself in perfection.

RICHELIEU.

I acknowledge I had no scruples where the welfare of France was concerned, and that I was not a minister by halves. On my death-bed I could find nothing to repent of as a statesman. I perceive it was your good fortune to take the lead in the affairs of Great Britain.

CHATHAM.

I arrived at the summit of all my wishes at last. I paved the way to my advancement by taking the side of opposition in Parliament. I began my attack before I was warm in my seat, against an oligarchy that had brought corruption to a system. The Dutchess of Marlborough left me a legacy of ten thousand pounds, to keep me independent, and for talking in defence of the liberty of my country.

country. I spoke, and with the greatest energy and conviction, against placemen, pensioners, german connections, septennial parliaments, standing armies, and a long peace that had unnerved the courage of the nation. I was vehement against a minister who was afraid of war (then become necessary for the honour and justice of the nation against Spain) lest bad success in it should exasperate the people, and occasion his downfall. I also had a personal dislike to him, for obliging me to part with my cornetcy of horse for my senatorial behaviour. I was as inflexible as Cato; and, to the advantage of an unembarrassed countenance, I joined the eloquence of Demosthenes against Philip. I was never called to order for intemperance of speech. My auditors were never tired. They thought my longest speeches were the best. The treasury bench trembled at the bold truths I uttered: and were as much confused as Cæsar was, when Cicero pleaded for Ligarius. The thunder of my voice was heard all over the house of Commons, and did great execution. The Minister was confounded, and obliged to give way. A series of blunders, extravagances, misfortunes, and some particular conjunctures, placed me, in a course of time, in a directing station. My counsels were crowned with prosperities, and were furthered with unanimity at home. I conducted an extensive war against France, and managed England as much as you did Lewis the thirteenth.

RICHELIEU.

I could have done nothing if I had not gained an ascendancy over the King. I was as necessary to him as he was to me. His enemies were my enemies,

During which busy time, I never suffered a ship, or a regiment to be unemployed,

enemies, and the authority he put into my hands enabled me to make him absolute over the Princes of the blood, the nobility, his parliaments, and to trample on the charters of the Hugonots. I triumphed over all the conspiracies against my person and my power.

CHATHAM.

But I set out the open champion of the rights of mankind, the defender of the constitution against the encroachments of government, the foe to despotic prerogative, the friend of popular assemblies, and the enemy to intolerance in Church and state. I was carried on the shoulders of the people into responsible office, against the inclinations of the Sovereign and the cabinet

RICHELIEU

Were you, in all the revolution of things, able to preserve yourself in your station, and was no party capable of making a stand against you?

CHATHAM.

I several times resigned my employments; but was never turned out. When my advice was not followed, and I was no longer permitted to guide, I flung up in a pet. I had the pride of Richelieu, that could not bear the least contradiction.

RICHE-

RICHELIEU.

I see you were fond of superiority, and consulted your importance on every occasion, as I did. But, secure of the attachment of my prince, I never yielded nor gave up any important point.

CHATHAM.

Though I professed the stiffness of the English oak, yet I sometimes could bend like the willow. I often conjured and threatened (but not in the menace and tone of a Guise or Massinello) that the legislature should not totally reject some bills I introduced and pressed upon them, in favour of the privileges of the people; and I was glad to gain some clauses, when I could not obtain the whole. I constantly returned to public business with increase of consequence, and indeed with so raised a character, that even at the very conclusion of my life, by lifting up my finger, I could have made my own terms, and, on my first invitation to court, have commanded a dukedom and the garter. I verily believe, the fascination of my eloquence would have inflamed my countrymen into war, or charmed their inclinations to peace, if I had been brought before them, and could have made myself heard by them at large.

RICHELIEU.

If you had flourished during the freedom of Athens, your dangerous and pre-eminent qualities would have subjected you to Ostracism, and incurred the jealousy and ingratitude incident to republics.

CHAT-

CHATHAM.

But my influence over my fellow-citizens would never have made me formidable to the governing powers of our own monarchy. All complaints were to be made in Parliament, and all grievances redressed in a sober, legal, and constitutional way. After the conclusion of a glorious war, (though the peace was not adequate to our unparalleled victories) when I had well nigh worn myself out in my representative character, I accepted an earldom and a pension from the crown (for they both came to me unasked) as a reward for my past services. My not declining those honours demonstrated to every body, that I did not meditate being a demagogue, or the leader of faction; and also, that I did not think myself a greater person than my Sovereign: though, to tell you the truth, I was more popular than himself, or than your Henry the fourth.

RICHELIEU.

Did your health permit you afterwards to take any important part in the concerns of the public? and did not your good friends the people think the worse of you for being raised above them, when you became ennobled?

CHATHAM.

I never meant to desert the ^{cause} ~~cause~~ of the people. But, to be candid, sundry superficial appearances in my political line of conduct had been

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re-

recollected, and some erroneous declarations of my youth were produced against me. But my country was willing enough to forget and to forgive me, and to repose the most unlimited confidence. I studied its real welfare and dignity, by night and by day. I had the approbation of the majority of the whole kingdom, for the goodness of my intentions. For the good of the people, I dared to look the proudest connexions in the face. They fancied I was able to rescue them from every national disgrace or misfortune. I left the condition of England on the slippery edge of a war with France, who has entered into a treaty of alliance and commerce with our North American colonies. My increasing infirmities, the rejection of some plans for the restoring peace in America, and some correspondences I had entered into, that were hostile to the present official men, made me withdraw myself for some time. Roused by the dangerous situation of my country, I got up in my place in the upper House (from the couch of sickness) to proclaim my sentiments. I spoke with so much effort against some cowardly notions, respecting our submission to the independency of America, (for the Americans had voted themselves, in Congress at Philadelphia, independent two years before) that were likely to operate on the audience, that I swooned away, and, after languishing a few days, I yielded up my spirit.

RICHELIEU.

And I also was hurried out of the world at a critical moment. I just lived long enough to survive the execution of some of the enemies of the state, whom I longed to make the victims of my vengeance.

C H A-

CHATHAM.

But, unless my memory fails me, posterity calls them by a softer name, and considers them as the friends of France, though the enemies of the minister; and asserts, that they suffered unjustly. If you would forgive the vanity of the comparison, I should congratulate myself, like Pericles, that no citizen ever suffered death upon my account.

RICHELIEU.

If you had presided over the interests of France, you would have acted just as I did. You would have shewn no false compassion, no mean inclination to pardon assassination, and you would have preserved yourself against contempt, as I always did. The name of a great minister and of Richelieu convey the same meaning. My monument in the Sorbonne, if every other memorial of me should vanish from the earth, affords a striking contemplation on the sublimity and superiority of the genius of the cardinal duke of Richelieu.

CHATHAM.

An English ghost, who the moment before had obtained his passage over the Styx, brings me the welcome information of the almost unprecedented honours that were decreed me, since my death, by the munificence of my country. My body was buried at the public charge, and attended to its interment in Westminster-Abbey by a numerous procession of noble mourners. My debts (for I

died as poor as Aristides, or my predecessor Wal-
 fingham) are to be disencumbered in the same
 manner. I had given several disinterested proofs,
 in my life-time, of my neglect and contempt of
 money (for, if I had availed myself of my situa-
 tion and intelligence, I might have heaped up as
 over-grown a fortune as the Duke of Marlborough)
 and no avarice is imputable to me but of an im-
 moderate reputation. My family is supported by the
 bounty of Parliament, and a monument to perpe-
 tuate the idea of my person, my name, and my
 services is going to be erected, by order of par-
 liament. If it will not equal in grandeur the Mau-
 soleum of Richelieu, yet it will serve to express
 the sentiments and good-will of the English nation
 towards a minister, who did all in his ability to
 extend its glory over the four quarters of the
 globe.



CONVERSATION XXI.

Pope SIXTUS the Fifth

AND

Queen ELIZABETH.

SIXTUS.

AS it was impossible for us to meet either on the banks of the Tiber or the Thames, permit me to express my joy at the sight of you on this side the Styx. The felicity of your fortune and the greatness of your character were the wonder of the whole Christian world. Though you were only a Queen, I was not ashamed to contend with you. You should have been of the other sex, by the wisdom and steadiness of your more than kingly behaviour. But then, I could not have confessed a desire of being acquainted with you as a woman. Perhaps this may not have reached your ears.

ELIZABETH.

Your admiration of my capacity for government was very agreeable to me; and your flattering supposition, that my person was as attracting as my conduct, was by no means displeasing. Though I was no idolater, I wished to be an idol. I assure you, I had my full share of vanity. If I was great in some things, I was little in others. Indeed, if we were not reduced to meer shadows, I should have some reason to be afraid of your holiness. For you, who could fling away your crutches when you were near seventy, upon your being elected Pope, and could reassume all your masculine qualities, might make me tremble for that virtue I preserved and carried with me to the grave.

SIXTUS.

What! were you never off your guard, and did you really keep all your favourites and suitors at a proper distance? Common fame spoke but indifferently of you upon that head; as well as of your mother Anne Bullen.

ELIZABETH.

No scandal, I beseech you! I reverence the memory of my mother; and am convinced of her continence: but I should condemn her for some levities, if I had not followed her example. In answer to the petition and advice of my parliament, I framed an excuse for not marrying, and desired it might be engraved on my tomb-stone: "Here lies Queen Elizabeth; who lived and died
"a virgin."

SIXTUS.

This might be a sufficient answer to the great council of the nation ; but must have made some of your favourites, who knew you best, laugh heartily when your back was turned.

ELIZABETH.

I never had put myself so much into their power. I should have made them repent boasting of my favours a second time. But to be less serious. I knew how far I could give and take liberties with the men, without putting my honour into danger. I had more judgement than to share or to part with my sovereignty to a favourite, or even to a husband. The daughter of Henry the Eighth could neither bear an equal nor a superior. As it is not worth while to keep the secret any longer, I thought it more prudent to seem susceptible of love, than to indulge the passion. For my figure, after all, was not the most desirable. I possessed more of the Minerva than of Venus. But to have done with jocularly. How can you expect I should be desirous of your conversation, when you put me under deposition, my dominions under excommunication, and granted a crusade against England and Ireland ?

SIXTUS.

That was a matter of course, and a mere formality. It was copied from the interdict of my predecessor Pope Pius ; of which, to tell you the truth, I had the drawing up. But I wished you

no harm at the same time. Though the thunder of the Vatican was launched against England, I did not expect to gain any thing by it; for your father shook off the yoke so effectually, that he became the Pope in his own dominions. In England the Crescent is full as likely to be triumphant as the Cross.

ELIZABETH.

So, you wish me to forget all you have done against me in the other world, and to overlook your political conduct. But I am afraid lest old Burleigh and Walsingham should see us talking together. They may suppose I have renounced my religion; for which they would never forgive me. They were steady men, and made a serious matter of their principles.

SIXTUS.

I am concerned that a princess of the haughty house of Tudor should pretend to be afraid of being gazed at, or called to an account by any of her subjects. I ventured to look all the cardinals of Rome out of countenance, after I had overreached them to elect me into the chair of St. Peter.

ELIZABETH.

Then I need not have any scruples about meeting Mary of Scotland, the Duke of Anjou, Leicester, or Essex, or any one else I injured or obliged

obliged on the other side of the water. You are willing enough to grant me absolution, if I asked it, I suppose.

SIXTUS.

All is fair in matters of competition. If open dealing will not succeed, recourse must be had to artifice. If you do not get the better of your antagonists, your antagonists will get the better of you : and that is to be prevented by every means in your power.

ELIZABETH.

Your morality seems to hang very loose about you !

[*aside*]

SIXTUS.

I thought, with Cæsar, from the sentiment he used to quote from Euripides, so well known to you, that if honourable behaviour may be violated, it is most excusable for the acquisition of the supreme power. The cardinals thought to treat me as a cypher, and made me their pity, instead of their envy. But they did not know who they had to deal with. To make my success the more certain, I affected the infirmities you allude to, in order to flatter every one with the hopes of an immediate succession. I prevailed by this trick, just as Junius Brutus did by counterfeiting folly to answer his purpose. When I became Pope, I stood no longer upon ceremony. I declared my ability of mind and body sufficient to occupy two thrones, if they were vacant. I determined to make a noise in the world, and to be feared.

ELT.

ELIZABETH.

You became indeed more admired than loved during your pontificate.

SIXTUS.

That must ever be the case when a daring genius finds himself in possession of unlimited power. But I had an idea of true glory. I hardly lost a day in doing good to mankind. I governed with rigour and with vigour. I increased the Vatican library with books. I embellished the city of Rome with buildings and with fountains, with arts and sciences; and I procured plenty of all kinds. The times, and my own disposition, inclined me more to the severity of justice, than the weakness of mercy. I considered every pardon as an encouragement to a crime; and, in the sentiment of your William Rufus, I reckoned mercy to the guilty as cruelty to the innocent. I brought no disgrace on the holy see, like some of my predecessors. I could laugh even at the wit of Pasquin, except on a particular provocation; and I set the conclave at defiance. I behaved as well as if I had been an hereditary prince; and, when I breathed my last, which was after a short reign of five years, I did not leave the state impoverished by nepotism or exactions. I made my subjects tremble too much, when I was alive, to expect to have many tears shed over my grave.

ELIZABETH.

Such men as you, as was said of your Pagan predecessor Augustus, should never have been born, or never died.

SIXTUS.

I am not sure I had fair play for my life : it was too much for the interest of Spain not to get rid of me.

ELIZABETH.

I know you acted your part well. How you could play the hypocrite for a length of time, and have the courage to pull off the masque afterward, and exhibit your real self, is astonishing !

SIXTUS.

Whilst Cardinal of Montalto, I counterfeited the mortification of a monk, the solitude of a hermit, the contempt of greatness like a second Diogenes, a total indifference of life, a desire of being disengaged from the duty of my office, and to fling off my scarlet robe. I seemed to bow down to the infirmities of age, and to endure all the pangs of decrepitude. I imposed so successfully upon my brother cardinals, upon all but Farnese, that I was raised almost unanimously to the purple ; for every one saw a ray of hope of a re-election the next day, and expected a majority of voices in the conclave.

ELIZABETH.

How long did you undergo this voluntary penance ?

SIXTUS.

Fourteen entire years.

ELI-

ELIZABETH.

Why, it was equal to the punishment of Simeon on the pillar, and the vain-glorious Faquirs in India !

SIXTUS.

By never losing sight of my object, I became almost sure of grasping it at last. I had always the triple crown in my view. I thought, if I could get the better of myself, I might the more easily obtain the ascendancy over others. The keeping down the high passions of my soul was equal to the twelve labours and victories of Hercules. To trample upon my own pride (of which quality I had given many proofs before I came to be a Cardinal), in order to display humility ; to check my inordinate appetite for power, at the same time I was to exhibit a contempt of it ; to be daily preparing for death, whilst I intended to domineer over the living, shewed me a master of simulation and of dissimulation.

ELIZABETH.

No wonder you conquered the minds of others, when you gained the difficult conquest over yourself. After all, was it worth while to undergo so much mortification, to obtain such a short term in royalty ?

SIXTUS.

SIXTUS.

The desire of governing others is superior to the gratification of all the lesser passions put together. Before we can arrive at this point, we must not let our real characters be known. We must give ourselves the trouble of concealing what we are, and of appearing what we are not. It is an exquisite satisfaction to find we every day are gaining some ground, and that our plots and counterplots are likely to be successful. If my reign had lasted forty-four years, as your's did, I should have thought I had been more amply rewarded for all I had done and suffered. I loved power too well to be weary of reigning. When I died, my head was full of prospects for the grandeur of Rome. Were my merits as a spiritual and a temporal Prince properly balanced, I do not know which scale would preponderate. Your reign was the longest and the most splendid in modern story. From the death of your brother Edward, to that of your sister Mary, you had a variety of difficulties to surmount, and was obliged to exercise as much circumspection before you was raised to the throne, and for almost as long a series of years, as Sixtus himself. You became a better Queen, for being bred in the school of adversity.

ELIZABETH.

I cannot forget, even at this distance of time, my reflections on the superior happiness of the
 poor

poor country girl I discovered from the window of the castle of Woodstock, while I was in confinement there, and my wish for an exchange of condition.

SIXTUS.

Your deliverance put more elevated notions into your mind. You knew when to hold up your head, and when to be gracious. I despised popularity perhaps too much. You did right, I suppose, in seeking for opportunities of acquiring it, though you had too much sense to approve of it from every quarter it came. When you rode on horseback to St. Paul's, behind your Chamberlain, and the croud was very troublesome, your affected affability spoke aloud to the mob, "take care, my good people, take care!" but you whispered with the same breath in his ear, "ride over them my Lord, ride over them". After making so great a figure, pray inform me, what has brought you amongst us?

ELIZABETH.

I could not have lasted much longer, even though the delivery of the ring from my unfortunate Essex had not made me sick of the world and refuse the sustenance and consolation that might have protracted my life for some months. To increase my chagrin, I observed even my attendants and old courtiers were falling off from me, to worship the rising sun. I then began to think in earnest that I had lived long enough, and I was as glad

to quit, as others could be to enjoy the novelty of a new reign. A crown falling from me, seemed but a poor thing, when I found myself deserted to make room for my successor. I am sorry to feel my imagination continues to be disturbed by these intrusions of memory. I see we are going to be interrupted. Some persons are coming up I wish to avoid at present. I shall be glad to reassume our conversation the first opportunity, in some more private walk, where we may not be broke in upon.



CONVERSATION XXII.

H U M E

A N D

R O U S S E A U.

H U M E.

I Hope death has cured you of all your jealousies, and that, as you are now restored to your senses, you will henceforth treat me as your friend.

R O U S S E A U.

Those unlucky words that escaped your lips, at midnight, in our dormitory at Calais, on our way to England, and which awakened me out of my slumber, I could not get out of my head, during the rest of my life. "Now I have you, "Rousseau!" still tingles in my ears.

H U M E.

H U M E.

If you would have hearkened to reason the next morning, all might have been well again. But you delighted to cherish suspicions in your fertile brain. Like Tiberius, you cruelly punished only for a dream.

R O U S S E A U.

I may reply, with the subtle emperor, that if you had not gone to bed with those thoughts, you would not have uttered them in your sleep. From the moment I had persuaded myself that I had drawn the eyes of all Europe upon me, I suspected every body had a design upon my independency. I did not desire to be under the smallest obligation to a fellow-creature; and I fancied that a philosopher had put shackles upon me. Never did I seem so little in my own eyes, as when I was tempted to receive an annual stipend from the king of Great Britain.

H U M E.

You were not to be debased into a slave, by what we were contriving for your advantage. It was an accommodation procured for you without ostentation. The channel, through which the intended bounty was to flow, would have been kept a profound secret from the world.

R O U S S E A U.

But it could not have been a secret from Johnⁿ James Rousseau.

Q

H U M E.

H U M E.

It was not a bribe, but a token of respect meant to be paid you, for coming amongst us, and a slender provision for a man of merit who had been forced to leave his country, and who began to be afflicted with bodily infirmities.

R O U S S E A U.

But, was it not a pension?

H U M E.

It was: but for which no suit nor service was to be paid. It was but a word that startled you. It conveyed no terror to my bosom. For I was placed upon the list of pensioners, as soon as my public employments were at an end. But I did not feel myself deprived of my civil or personal liberty, or the excursion of my tongue or my pen. I had no scruples about accepting the royal favour. It was not a matter of reproach. It was the customary reward for services of that sort. Do you imagine St. Evremond, that illustrious refugee, thought the worse of himself for residing in England, and accepting four hundred pounds a year from the court?

R O U S S E A U.

Pensions in his time might be honourable things, as well as convenient ones. But even the son of a watchmaker of Geneva soared above the temptation.

tation. When I quitted my native city, which I was as glad to do as the magistrates could be to get rid of me, I little thought it was my destiny to be so near losing my freedom, in a kingdom where all men pretend to be their own masters. I complied with your pressing invitation to go over with you to London, where I was promised shelter and comfort. But I soon discovered I could not live in my own manner. I was no longer proprietor of my time or person. I tried, for some weeks, with diligence, to get some knowledge of the English language; but was forced to give up the pursuit. The admission of strangers, who flocked from all parts to stare at me, was disagreeable. The reflection that I was become a public spectacle, to gratify the national pride, and to swell your consequence, made me, with tears of joy, accept the offered retreat into Derbyshire, where I flattered myself I should not be found out.

H U M E.

If you had not been the author of the *New Eloisa* and *Emilius*, nobody would have given themselves the trouble of inquiring after you. Is it not a little extraordinary that you, whose vanity was constantly nourished on being told that your writings were in every body's hands, should endeavour to keep yourself from every body's eyes? The person who went to Rome on purpose to procure a sight of *Livy*, hardly returned into the country without seeing him. Perhaps the indulgent owner of the cottage, and the parish curate, intruded themselves too often into your company, and dissolved the agreeable romances of your mind.

Q 2

ROUS-

ROUSSEAU.

I confess I was oftener broken in upon than I wished to be.

HUME.

I am convinced it would have been better for you, if you had not been so much alone. Seneca had told you, that solitude was fit only for a wild beast or a god. Your imagination too often ran away with your understanding, when you were left with a pen in your hand. I might say of you, as Clarendon does of Hobbes, whom you so much admired, that you spent too much time in thinking, and too little in exercising those thoughts in company. Your social and sociable qualities became at last extinguished. But this is not all that was wrong. Your day dreams and your night ones were only of conspiracies that were hatching against your safety. You thought you had offended, beyond forgiveness, every government, by having written against every one, and that spies from all parts were employed against you. Your head, if I am not misinformed, was at last the region of chimeras. According to the Rosicrucian language, you were surrounded by a parcel of gnomes and sprites, and wanted the benevolence of some sylphs and sylphids, to expel them from the possession of your distempered brain. Perhaps the crouds of these unembodied beings, when they know the celebrated Rousseau is here, may become painful in the indulgence of their curiosity.

J. ROUS-

ROUSSEAU.

Your serious and poetical allusions are not lost upon me. I am not a judge how far the increasing weakness of my body affected the constitution of my mind, towards the close of life. But, I may presume, when you took me up, I was as much the object of admiration, as latterly of compassion. I might have been Hume; but I chose to be Rousseau. My aversions were things I did not want to conceal. I declared war against artificial, in favour of natural society. The fictitious man I could not bear, even for a companion. If I loved friendship, I could not find a friend who had a proper regard for my honour. After Hume had endeavoured to corrupt my heart with money, I resolved not to put it in any one's power to use me ill. For the disinterested concern, if any of it were such, you took of me and my affairs, accept the acknowledgement of gratitude. When I found England not a fit place to protect me any longer, I was as impatient to change it for France as I had been eager to part with Paris, for London, at your solicitation.

H U M E,

You had taken so many things amiss of me, when you gave out you were tired of me, that I was alarmed, lest the eloquence of your pen, some time or other, might be launched against me. Fearing an advantage might be taken, if the grave should first cover my head, of your attacking my memory, I appealed to the public, in my own defence, against a numerous set of probable charges from your side, and was universally acquitted.

ROUSSEAU.

And I, in my turn, prepared an apology for my whole conduct, which I have given the world a right to sit in judgement upon, against the variety of calumnies that are scattered all over Europe against me. Of my situation the people of your country were incompetent judges. The feelings of my mind were too nice and tender for them to have a suitable conception of, who, without shame or remorse, give and take pensions every hour of the day. I do not pronounce that England was unworthy of me; but only, that I had an inclination to go to Paris, to follow my profession, as an author; and my trade, as a transcriber of music.

HUME.

In both which vocations you were sure to have constant employment. To avoid being pursued, you in vain took shelter in the attic story. It was impossible for you to be long concealed any where. Your fame always flew before you. Several of the nobility, as I have heard, were obliged to exercise their ingenuity to get access to you and to deliver their music into your hands to be copied; but could not always make you come up to the price they wished you to put upon your labours.

ROUSSEAU.

Our conversation must soon break off; for I find we are going to have a large levee. Suffice it, for the present, to say, that whilst my faculties

ties permitted, I sustained myself with the fruits of personal application. That I was a dupe to no religious, political, nor philosophic sect. That I was a broacher of no opinions that I thought were false or dangerous. That I was not enamoured of peculiarity of dress, or manners, or conduct, to the degree as those who delineate my character may induce posterity to believe. Something I was of the Sceptic, a little only of the Epicurean, but much of the Stoic. To eat and to drink only for the support of life; to bear and to forbear; to be above the frowns, and even the smiles of fortune, and the fear of death; to speak and to write the truth, and to lay down my life for it, according to the words of my motto, was, I trust, all the singularity and absurdity imputable to me. With complacency let me assure you, that if you have no design upon my natural rights, nor my franchise as a citizen of Elisium, a reconciliation may soon take place, without the interposition of Minos. An immediate separation is now become necessary. I discover the lively and satirical Voltaire is advancing towards us. I cannot endure his spirit of ridicule on this any more than on the other side the Styx. I resign you to his vivacity.



CONVERSATION XXIII.

VOLTAIRE

AND

WORTLEY MONTAGUE.

MONTAGUE.

WELCOME, dear poet of Ferney, to the Elifian Fields! You were almost a fit inhabitant for this place half a century ago. You had but a small incumbrance of flesh to cast off. I left you a mere walking shadow upon the face of the earth, and you are still the same tall and thin Voltaire. All the European Gazettes, I suppose, have taken notice of your departure. The Muses of France will go into mourning: and History, Philosophy, and Belles Lettres, must be in tears on your account.

VOLTAIRE.

VOLTAIRE.

I had my vanity gratified in so exquisite a degree in the other world, that I have done with it now, and I am happy to be initiated into the society of these aerial beings. I accepted an honourable invitation of return to my native country, after a very long absence from it; and I was at last tempted, though not without the greatest importunity, to relinquish my beloved castle near Geneva for ever. I received the most studied flatteries that my countrymen could invent; and I was considered as the Nestor of polite learning. My head was literally crowned with laurels at Paris, where I was as much worshiped as if I had been Apollo himself. I broke a blood vessel in endeavouring to recite, beyond my strength, a new tragedy to the actors; and soon after I fell into a painful disorder, that carried me off in three days. I had enough of life, and have not so much as a remaining wish to return to breathe the upper air, even for the satisfaction of tasting more praise, and of making my enemies more ridiculous. To confess another truth, I had scribbled away a great part of my reputation, and been good for nothing a great while. I went out, however, like a lamp, blazing with a little refulgence, just before its final extinction.

MONTAGUE.

I should have thought the longest life worth enjoying upon any conditions. I acknowledge I was not weary of existence. I was become neither Nestor, nor Tithonus, nor the wretched Struldbrug

brug of Laputa. My animal spirits were not decayed, and I had sundry things to accomplish, that would have pleased me very well, and have filled up my time.

VOLTAIRE.

Amongst the innumerable wishes of novelty or curiosity that sprung up in your fertile imagination, I perceive that the desire of coming into Elifium was not in the list. I dare say, you would rather be making a figure in Egypt, with Ali Bey.

MONTAGUE.

My voyage, if I may so call the passage over the Styx into this untravelled country, was entirely owing to the accident of a bone of that delicious bird, the beccafico, sticking in my throat, at Padua. Alas! how slight a thing has brought me to this place! My schemes and inventions only ended with my life. I was on the point of taking a journey into England (though my friends in London dissuaded me from it, thinking the change of climate would injure my constitution, and that my going over would answer no useful purpose) to take possession of a good estate that fell to me by the death of the duke of Kingston. The idea of appearing again in England, and disappointing my relations, on whose account I had been excluded from great paternal property, made revenge, for a moment, a ruling passion. After having so often used myself very ill, I made no scruple about taking the same liberty with some other people.

VOLTAIRE.

Every body must have something to bring them hither. I find I rose a more satisfied guest from the entertainment of life than yourself, according to the allusion of our friend Horace. When Time waved his hand to beckon me away, he found me ready to follow him. Besides, I longed for an opportunity of conversing with the illustrious shades of antiquity and of my own times. I was glad to be delivered from the irritating slanders of rival wits, the impertinence of dull authors, from my own irritable temper, and from seeing the same follies of life a thousand times repeated. Could there be any thing new or interesting to a person who had seen and suffered so much as yourself? I should have thought you would have been glad to have found a hole through which to have crept out of the world, who had been subjected to such a variety of uncommon mishaps, and who, to the eyes of a philosopher, seemed to be little better than the laughing stock of Fortune.

MONTAGUE.

She might have grown tired of persecuting or insulting me. I had done a great deal to be talked of, and yet I was not without hopes I had not arrived at the last act of the tragi-comedy of my life. If I had found my old acquaintance turning their backs upon me, during my tour in England, I must have changed the scene, and assumed some new character, for the support of my consequence. This could have been no difficulty to
one

one who had been, as our poet Dryden describes the volatile duke of Buckingham,

“always in the wrong;
“Was ev’ry thing by starts, and nothing long.”

VOLTAIRE.

You resembled also the Polypus of your own Royal Society. Though you had been cut into an hundred pieces, every part of you was an entire Montague.

MONTAGUE.

I sustained, my dear Voltaire, with the greatest ease, a myriad of representations. Whether the notion of my being the son of the Grand Seigneur belongs only to the chronicle of scandal, or not, is of no importance. But all my life long I seem to have been an adventurer from Constantinople. Whilst I resided in England I became, on the dawn of manhood, the husband of a washerwoman, and of several other women. I was a chimney-sweeper, a poor fisherman, a gamester, a patriotic writer on the ancient republics, a member of the House of Commons; and was not, for twenty-four hours together, worth a single guinea. This, though a great deal for any other man to perform, was not half of what I was able to perform. I rambled through every court in Europe. At Lisbon I became a muletteer, at Paris I was imprisoned for a cheat. I travelled afterwards into the East, and was converted into a good Mussulman. I acquired a knowledge of the Hebrew, Chaldee, Arabic, and Persian languages: and I directed a large and curious collection of
eastern

eastern rarities and manuscripts to be transmitted to England. Like a patriarch, I sojourned in the Holy Land, with my wives and concubines. On my return, I received formal visits from my English friends at Venice (who, you may suppose, wondered enough at my metamorphosis) the year before my death, sitting, in a room of state, cross-legged on my sofa, with my coffee, my pipe (two and twenty feet long) my turban, my slippers, and the Koran. I refreshed my guests with sherbet, administered by my son Fortunatus, in the habit of a slave.

VOLTAIRE.

I think I have before me my countryman Bonneval, who seems to have given you the hint for the Mohammedan part you acted. He died a Bashaw of Three Tails at Constantinople. But your journey to England would have obliged you to have laid aside the turban and your long beard.

MONTAGUE.

If I had once laid them down in good earnest, it is doubtful what masquerade habit I should have put on. My immediate object was to plague my family and to bask a while in the sunshine of fortune. I should have taken with me a natural son who was born to me during my pilgrimage in the east, and whom I acknowledge as such in my last will. His negro complexion unluckily bears no resemblance to his father's European face, and may occasion speculations of his descent. When I had discovered that I was growing weary of England, or that it was tired of me, I might have
pur-

purfued an inclination to have attended Chit-qua to Peking, in order to have acquired the Chinefe tongue, been enrolled a difcipline of Confucius, and been appointed a Mandarin. My enthufiafm of difpofition might alfo have induced me to have been the companion of Omiah, to Otabeite : or the fever of patriotifm might have transported me to America (where I had rambled once before) and inclined me to offer myfelf to the fainfs, as a member of the Congress of the thirteen Independent States.

VOLTAIRE.

If I had not been weary of exiftence, and even of keeping the prefs agoing, your life and adventures might have furnifhed abundant materials for my pen. To be fure, you would have made a different figure from Charles, and Peter, and Lewis ; but the account of you could not have been lefs entertaining than my ftory of Zadig, or Babouc, or Micromagus ; nor lefs marvellous than that of Candide, the laft extraordinary character that has been dreft up by the voluminous Voltaire.

MONTAGUE.

Perhaps, if I had apprehended that Voltaire had been watching over the actions of my life, I might have been more upon my guard ; for, till I had been out of the reach of his obfervation and ridicule, I fhould have trembled for my affectation of fingularity, which made me contemptuoufly fet afide the cuftoms, moralities, and ceremonies of my native country.

VOLTAIRE.

Let us begin to think, with Candide, that "All is for the best :—" and that Montague and Voltaire are very well off. You, in having the good luck to go out of life through no fault of your own ; and in obtaining your passport from the fates before crimes might have been superadded to folly ; after having committed a thousand extravagances, to the honour of your genius perhaps, but to your disgrace as an Englishman ; and, after having made the world stare, and your family ashamed of you : I, in escaping from the other world, before a second childhood lost me the reputation of my best days. After having treated as a fable, in my writings and conversation, the story of Charon, of Minos, and the Elisian fields (and knew of no other than the Elisian fields near Paris, where I was walking a few days ago) my satisfaction is to find myself at full liberty to wander in these delightful groves,



CONVERSATION XXVI.

XANTIPPE

AND

MARGARET of VALOIS.

MARGARET.

IS it possible that Socrates, who was pronounced by the oracle the wisest man upon earth, could make choice of you for the companion of his life? Surely you did not discover that talent for abusive eloquence you possessed in that eminent degree during the time of his courtship?

XANTIPPE.

I suppose the genrality of our sex endeavour to conceal any disagreeable qualities at that season; but our natural dispositions take the first opportunity of breaking out. Before marriage, petulance is taken for smartness, and finding a thousand faults is termed paying an attention. Silence is universally called stupidity.

MAR.

MARGARET.

You must have been the only lady at Athens, who would not have been proud of a connexion with the divine Socrates. How could you be so cruel as to force him to escape for refuge out of his own house, and give him so ungracious a reception whenever he ventured home again?

XANTIPPE.

I could not endure so much insensibility and meekness. No injury ever disturbed him, or roused his temper. Perhaps, if he had only raised his voice into a higher tone against me, or if the Athenian laws in favour of husbands had permitted him to have given me some correction, it might have set me right, and got the better of my petulancy.

MARGARET.

It would have been next to a miracle to have put him off his guard. If he had been master in his own house, it might have prevented, as he used to express it, many a thunder-storm, which was sure to end in a heavy shower. Your peevishness excited universal compassion for poor Socrates. You came off conqueror indeed; but the name of Xantippe descends to posterity as another name for a scold.

XANTIPPE.

There are other names, I find, that are handed down for behaviour of a more disgraceful kind
 R than

than what is laid to my charge. I, who could not spare your *divine* Socrates, can give no quarter to Margaret of Valois, if she desires to engage me in conversation. I must take the liberty to recriminate upon you, and, after confessing my unhappy temper, indulge my pride in boasting, that in other respects I preserved a spotless reputation, which is more than somebody has done.

MARGARET.

You needed no other offensive quality to make you loathsome to any husband. Will you pretend that an eternal flippancy of the tongue is not as disgusting to a husband as a little, or, if you will, a great deal of infidelity? A late poet of our nation, as I am told, observes with great pleasantry, that, with regard to certain affairs, if you find them out, it is not much; and if they continue a secret, it is nothing at all.

XANTIPPE.

It is very well you do not appeal to Socrates for the justness of this maxim. His system of morals would condemn very harshly the profligacy of such a position. Neither Lais nor Phryne, our most thorough paced courtezans, ever avowed such libertine notions.

MARGARET.

A good-natured husband will try to overlook the levities of an amorous complexion in a wife, and will throw the blame upon the stars, or any
where,

where, but upon her. It is in his power, if he chooses to expose his own dishonour, and venture on the laugh that will be against him, to extricate himself by a separation. But I know of no remedy against the imperiousness of a shrew. The disorder is an incurable vice of the mind, and, in my apprehension, is more illiberal and unpardonable than some slight deviations from the conjugal path.

XANTIPPE.

Whatever excuses you are pleased to invent for the errors of your own life, your wanton conduct has made all your agreeableness and sprightly sallies to be forgot, though you were the sister of one king and the wife of another. Nothing is remembered of you, but your criminal indulgences.

MARGARET.

Nothing, I believe, is remembered to my disadvantage but my indiscretions, for which I acknowledge I paid very dear. My personal charms, my wit and complaisance, will never be forgot.

XANTIPPE.

Would Henry have parted with you, if he had objected nothing to you but a peevish disposition and a spiteful tongue?

MARGARET.

The Pope would not have granted him a divorce, on such a complaint, any more than he

would have given me an absolution for what I was guilty of. But Henry would have been sick of my company, and have avoided my bed, though children were so necessary to him and the kingdom. His behaviour to his second queen, Mary of Medicis, was a proof of this. However willing he once shewed himself to convert a mistress into a wife, he never could have made his second wife his mistress. There are many more convenient marriages, than happy ones. Henry wandered often out of the matrimonial path, and lost the advantages of a victory to visit his beautiful Gabriella. He who listened so much to the seductions of love, could more easily pardon errors of the same kind. His temper was so gentleman-like and forgiving, that I am almost certain he would have winked at my wrong steps, if his public situation would have permitted it. If I had lived with him on the footing of cold virtue, and behaved with the provoking insolence of Xantippe, I should not have found a Socrates in him; I should have frightened all the Loves and the Graces out of the court; and Henry would have either turned me out of the palace, or have abandoned me to indulge my waspish humour by myself.

XANTIPPE.

When Socrates thought fit to make me his wife, he married me with all my faults; nay, he was apprized of my disposition, and seemed rejoiced at every additional opportunity of exercising his patience. I was as unlucky in my choice of a husband, as he could be in a wife.

MARGARET.

A Philosopher has no business with a wife; and yet, as well as I remember, Socrates had two at one time under his roof, who agreed in nothing else but in plaguing him. Why might not I gratify myself with variety as well as the wisest of men? Love was my constitutional foible, and pleasure my darling pursuit.

XANTIPPE.

It might be so; but it became the ruin of your character, degraded you from being a queen, and deprived you of your liberty.

MARGARET.

But (if you must know all) it did not deprive me of my amusements, nor destroy my gaiety. When I was cut off by Henry, I kept no terms with the world (from which indeed I was in a great measure excluded) but passed my time as chearfully as before. I did not drive away my gallants by a rude volubility of tongue, but invited and detained them with all the soothing and blandishments in my power. Confinement had not deprived me of the melody of my voice, and I touched the lute with my usual delicacy.

XANTIPPE.

We both lost a great deal by letting our passions run away with us. But, I flatter myself, that (if

we had been in competition) Socrates would have liked me better for a wife, however he might have preferred you for a mistress.

MARGARET.

I believe the condition of a mistress had been the fittest for me, though my high rank placed me above it. However, I am certain, that no gallant I once obtained would have deserted me, though he had found me stepping aside now and then. This was a superiority that the homely wife of Socrates will not dispute with me. Adieu, Xantippe ! I have satisfied my curiosity about your disposition and real character !



CONVERSATION XXVII.

Lord Deputy IRETON

AND

Lord Commissioner WHITLOCK.

WHITLOCK.

I ONCE little thought you would have had it in your power to have done so much mischief. I knew the restlessness of your temper; but your not resenting the indignity, when Hollis took you by the nose, made me not suspect you possessed so much boldness or barbarity as you afterwards exhibited.

IRETON.

I told him, the Lord had spit in my face.

WHITLOCK.

You did so; but was that the reply of a gentleman or a soldier, to a person of so much spirit as the challenger?

R 4

IRETON.

IRETON.

But did my future conduct expose me as a coward?

WHITLOCK.

If being the chief instrument in bringing the King to the block is a proof of heroism, nobody could refuse you the character of a complete hero.

IRETON.

I had first dared, as you must remember, to attack him in the field of Naseby, where, after I had been a prisoner for some hours, Cromwell and myself performed such feats, as gave a turn to the day, which ended in a thorough rout of his army.

WHITLOCK.

I wish that defeat had taught the King moderation. It might have afforded an excellent occasion for both sides to have given the nation peace.

IRETON.

You and your friends, the Presbyterians, meant one thing, and the increasing party of the Independents another. You would have made it up with the King at any rate.

WHITLOCK.

The violence of Pride, as well as of Joyce, who were but instruments in Cromwell's hands and
yours,

yours, made it impossible. When you drove out the Presbyterians, you began to see your way pretty well, and you had half done your work. Your behaviour at Colchester gave a specimen of the unmercifulness of your disposition. They were preludes to the conclusion of your tragedy, the destruction of the king and of monarchy.

IRETON.

The appeal had been to the sword, and the conquerors had a right to impose their own conditions.

WHITLOCK.

The House of Commons, whose servants you had all been, never meant you should take the power out of their hands, and, at last, turn them out of doors.

IRETON.

The saints meant to do great things for the people.

WHITLOCK.

And, therefore, you directed that buffoon, Hugh Peters, to blow the trumpet; and invited the godly to your standard. In short, a few desperate men, to gratify their ambition, revenge, and enthusiastic spirit, resolved to alter the constitution in church and state, and to bring the king to a public trial.

IRE-

IRETON.

Nothing, at one time, was farther from our views than completing that act of public justice. To tell you the truth, our party, of which Cromwell and myself were the head, had solid intentions and inclinations to make it up with the king; but we had such damning proofs of his insincerity, that his life became incompatible with our safety. The packet from Montrose in Scotland, and the letter we found in the pommel of the saddle in Holborn, convinced us of the king's duplicity, and determined us to put him to death, and to govern the nation ourselves.

WHITLOCK.

And did not the people immediately feel the little finger of your triumphant Independents to be heavier than the whole loins of the prerogative, as exercised by Charles Stuart?

IRETON.

As soon as we had conquered the royal party, we proposed to establish a free commonwealth (on a just representation of the people) in the delineation of which my pen was to be employed. Something of this sort was begun, when I was nominated, with Cromwell, to Ireland, to extinguish the rebellion there.

WHITLOCK.

When Cromwell left that kingdom, you shewed yourself a fit person to be intrusted as deputy, for
you

you dispatched a great deal in a little time. If you had not been carried off by the plague at Limeric (where, in proof of your sanguinary spirit, you cried out, in your last moments, "I will have blood! more blood!") you would have transported yourself to England, for your father-in-law dissolved the parliament, and got himself appointed lord protector. According to your own principles, you ought to have prevented him from pulling down the parliament that gave you both your commissions.

IRETON.

I had great influence over Cromwell, and made him often alter his resolutions, on several important occasions. I would not have suffered him to have set up for himself, nor would I have submitted to the government of a single person. I was called, as you know, the British Cassius; and I would have stabbed any man who had attempted to have been Cæsar. We had suppressed monarchy, and intended to have governed the many by the many.

WHITLOCK.

You must have supported your authority by an army, which shews a free commonwealth in England to be only a chimerical thing. There were at least a dozen fantastical forms of government set up and put down after your death. At length the cunning Monk (either because he was not able to act the part of a king, or because the kingship was above him) restored Charles Stuart, twelve years after monarchy had been abolished.

IRETON.

IRETON.

And how did the timid, temporizing Whitlock behave on that great alteration of affairs?

WHITLOCK.

As the times changed, I was obliged to change. I was always for moderation, and went unwillingly with the stream. I was, as you know, a member of the parliament of forty-one, and, joined with Pym and Hampden against ship-money, was against vesting the militia in the king, and was in all the popular questions that arose between the king and the subject. But I was neither a fanatic nor an enthusiast. When the legal constitution was overturned, I did all that was in my power to prop it up a little. Without acknowledging the new ruling powers, I accepted the great seal, with the hopes of preventing the total shipwreck of the law, of property, and of learning. I say, I only complied to outward appearance; for I considered monarchy as the key-stone of the constitution.

IRETON.

Yes, I have had information of your accommodating talents. Ludlow, the unconquered Englishman, has told me, that, on account of your taking the seal from the Committee of safety, the republican Scott (who suffered afterwards for his signing the warrant for the king's execution) threatened to have you hanged with the great seal about your neck.

WHIT-

WHITLOCK.

That violent man made it prudent for me to stick closer to my new connexions, of which number Fleetwood, who had married your widow, and was an honest but a weak man, was the principal. If he had been governed by my advice, I should have put it out of the power of the dissembler Monk to have over-reached us, and have made good terms for us all with Charles Stuart. But the general had betrothed himself to Vane and Haslerigg, who were wedded to a Commonwealth and the solemn league and covenant. I got nothing by the Restoration but my pardon, and was dismissed the royal presence with these remarkable words: "Mr. Whitlock, have done with state affairs: go into the country, and take care of your wife and your eleven children."

IRETON.

On a frequent review of the actions of my life, I justify my conduct to myself. I had heated myself with reading the Greek and Roman historians, and considered all kings as tyrants, long before the commencement of the civil war, and was determined to support my notions with my sword against the constant violation of law, and the frequent breach of the bill of rights.

WHITLOCK.

When you first unsheathed your sword against the King, you did not forget to fling away the scabbard. My experience in the laws convinced
me

me that monarchy was interwoven with the constitution, and that no fabric could be durable under any other form. When I opposed the stretch of the prerogative, I never meant to annihilate the kingship, or to put down the house of lords. You had no such scruples. But our conversation ought not to be so rigorous in these regions.

I R E T O N.

My temper and principles are the same. Before we part, let me ask you, how did you employ your leisure during your retirement in Berkshire, after you had made your peace? Ludlow, who outlived the ignoble race of Stuart, told me, the sons of liberty considered you as an apostate from their cause, and that you recanted all the free opinions of your youth.

W H I T L O C K.

I acknowledge, that in my seclusion I looked into the doctrines and opinions that had agitated my countrymen into the civil war; and after the most impartial scrutiny I determined in favour of the royal prerogative, which I had opposed with all my powers through the best part of my life. Candour got the better of party at last.

I R E T O N.

The love of life and of ease made you form those inglorious conclusions. I had the courage of mind to attempt to repair the constitution.
Your

Your design, and a mean one it was, led you to adhere to and support the letter of the law against the spirit of the constitution. Had my life been protracted to that of Ludlow's, my malice against monarchy might have been satiated with the expulsion of the Stuarts; and the formal compact entered into between the king and the people in the year eighty-eight might have satisfied even Ireton the tyrannicide.



CONVERSATION XXVIII.

Sir WALTER RALEIGH.

AND

Mr. ADDISON.

RALEIGH.

MEN were not designed to live *by* themselves, nor *for* themselves; to grow old in a monastic cell, or to moulder away in a college library.

ADDISON.

It is impossible for every one to act a principal part upon the theatre of the world. Some are only intended by nature for the shade of retirement. No doubt, society has its demands upon us. But every ploughman is not fit to be made a dictator; nor every butcher's or blacksmith's son capable of being a Wolsey or a Cromwell. The temper of some men is too fine for business, and the faculties of others are found to be even below it. I mean not this as an excuse for idleness and inactivity.

RA.

RALEIGH.

For my part, I launched out very early into the tempestuous ocean of an active life. I still remember the line I wrote in the window, on my first going to court :

“ Fain would I climb, yet fear I to fall ;”
and the queen underwriting :

“ If thy heart fail thee, climb not at all.”

All this added spurs to my ambition, that already wanted a bridle.

ADDISON.

Such a martial spirit, and so enterprizing a disposition as yours, could not be kept long at home.

RALEIGH.

No: I travelled into France, into the Netherlands, and into Ireland. After passing several years abroad, and seeing a great deal of military service, I returned with wreaths of glory, but without making my fortune. I performed several voyages to the new world; for the success and high deeds of Columbus, Cortez, and Pizarro, heated my imagination to an extravagant degree. I discovered and planted the colony of Virginia, that has since turned out so beneficial to my country. All this I achieved before I was thirty-two years of age.

ADDISON.

I know your activity of mind and person determined you rather to wear out, than to rust out. When you gave up the land service, and confined yourself to the command at sea, you distinguished yourself against the Armada in eighty-eight, and came to be considered as one of the first men in England. The death of Queen Elizabeth was a great blow to Sir Walter Raleigh.

RALEIGH.

I outlived all the seamen of her illustrious reign. Drake and Hawkins left me their hatred against the Spaniards. I have no doubt, I should have been sent by the Queen to take possession of Guiana, a country that might have proved equal in value to Mexico or Peru, and which might have been as compleatly discovered and settled as Virginia itself. Essex was removed out of the way, who stood between me and the Queen, and I might have succeeded to her esteem and favour.

ADDISON.

But, whilst you was indulging your thirst for fame, and exerting every nerve to the utmost, were you not engaged in all the violence and malevolence of faction? Were not your rivals constantly endeavouring to keep you down as fast as you were striving to rise? The progress of your life presented a continual scene and series of perturbations, and to those who were at leisure to view things narrowly, pointed out a situation rather to be avoided as a rock, on account of its perils, than to be envied for its splendour.

RALEIGH.

Sequestered men, and superficial observers, are apt to think every commotion in affairs a storm and a hurricane. Great spirits, who thrust themselves forward into notice, and are called into public direction, have their abilities polished by the collision of parties, and invigorated by state bustle. The perpetual industry and predominant passion of my soul, like the boasted talent of Themistocles, was to make a little city become a great one.

ADDISON.

Though yours was the age of heroes, yet there was room for people of another sort to become objects of distinction. Spenser obtained your patronage by his poetry. You loved the Muses too well, and was too well beloved by them, to have formed a wish, that his pen or his laurels should be taken from him. According to the opinion of the age in which I flourished, I was not thought to have mis-spent my time, nor to have lived in vain. I did not indeed contend for the military nor the civic crown; but I endeavoured to become useful in another way. I had not the smallest ambition of performing heroic services; but was content with the secondary praise of recording and commending them. A poem on Marlborough, our great captain, was esteemed so meritorious a composition, that it introduced me to Godolphin our first minister. I did not wear the lazy academic habit for half my time, nor pass the remainder in barren speculations,

tions, nor in matters irrelative to human life. I devoted myself to the literary service of my country, and endeavoured, by some periodical essays, to meliorate our manners, and to smooth and fix our fluctuating language. If I do not set too great a value on my pursuits, I made myself as useful by my pen, as another could have done by the sword. But every one could not write as well as fight, like Xenophon, Cæsar, and Sir Walter Raleigh:

R A L E I G H:

If you allude to my History of the World, I can tell you, that the writing it only occupied my moments and thoughts when I could do nothing else, and had nothing else to do. It would have increased my misery to have had my mind as well as my body cooped up in the narrow prison of the Tower. As soon as I could get out, I braved the thunder and lightning I struggled with upon the Atlantic, in my endeavour to enrich my country from the gold mine of Guiana.

A D D I S O N:

Alas, Sir Walter! the present age, as well as the past, consider your promise to fetch gold from thence, as the unmanly pretence for obtaining your liberty. Your Eldorado, or golden city, that you described with so much luxuriance in print three and twenty years before your last voyage, is treated as a city in Utopia and a Romance of your fertile brain. If gold was to be had, I believe you was determined to bring it with you. But I
am

am afraid you had no reason to expect it, but by plundering the Spaniards at St. Thomas, by which you intended to make your peace at court. For though you went out with the power of life and death, you knew you had not a compleat pardon. The commission, which is still visible, wanted the emphatical expression, of *trusty and well-beloved*. Your son, just before he was killed, declared to his followers, "they were fools who thought there was any other gold mine than what was to be had for fighting for."

RALEIGH.

Let me not stand so low in your estimation, to be considered as earning my life or liberty by the fraud of fiction or the meanness of a lie. I had brought a specimen of the gold of Guiana to court in the Queen's time, which I helped to dig out of the rocks with my dagger; and I undertook they should produce more of that metal. My proposal was so plausible, and the king's necessities so pressing, that I speedily set out with a good equipment, and with many adventurers and volunteers. Gondamor's notification, and my confidential letter to the King, containing the particulars of my hopes from the expedition, arrived in America before me. This you may have read in books; and I affirm the truth of it to you now, by word of mouth. The death of my eldest son, and the precipitate conduct of Keymis, who, upon my declaring to him that he had ruined me by his hostilities, pistoled himself in his cabin, the disaffection on board the ships, and my engagement to my bondsmen to return, like another Regulus to Carthage, made

me fail for England, which ended in the exposing me to the vengeance of the Spaniard, and the fearfulness and even the policy of the king, who had begun to think of the infant for his son, and scrupled not to make me the sacrifice.

ADDISON.

I am ready to acknowledge your hard fate, and even the injustice done you upon your trial, for a treason, which has never been made out, nor legally proved against you.

RALEIGH.

Attorney Coke talked me to death on that day.

ADDISON.

The King's bringing you to the block, after the punishment of thirteen years captivity, was pusillanimous, and one of the many blemishes of his reign. Your patron Prince Henry used to say, that none but his father would have kept such a bird so long in a cage.

RALEIGH.

I condescended to ask my life; being willing, as I expressed it, to die *for* the king, but not *by* the king. In truth, I abased myself even to Gondamor; though I believe and trust, that it is not generally known. But all would not do. When I came

I came to die upon the scaffold, did I not perform my last part well? Did I not confess the vanity and sinfulness which my several callings, as a soldier, a sailor, and a courtier, subjected me to? Did I not assert the mode of dying by the sharpness of the axe to be less ungrateful than by a burning fever? Did I not shew great indifference of life and contempt of death? Did I not solemnly protest my innocence at the moment when falsehood could do me no good? And did I not take the last revenge of an injured man, to blacken those who had defamed me, and sworn falsely against me?

ADDISON.

Your death made all the errors of your life forgiven or forgot. Can you bear to be told, that at one time you were the most unpopular man in England? that Lord Burleigh, amongst his cautionary precepts to his son Lord Salisbury, thus expresses his exception to you; "Seek not to be Essex; shun to be Raleigh."

RALEIGH.

Neither the censure of the ill-judging populace, nor the notions of a crafty statesman, should influence my conduct, were I to return to earth again. I would live and die my own way, in contradiction to them both. But it is high time to have done with my own story, the greatest part of which you must have been informed of already, that I may hear, without concealment of any circumstances, as I have done, what you have

have to say for yourself. Though we know a great deal of each other by reports and tradition, the present free conference will make us better acquainted, and set many things to rights in our character. What apology can you offer to remove my pity or reproach, for being nothing more than a poet and philologer, when your talents were considerable enough to have raised you to the lustre of a public character; for employing yourself in writing when you should have been in action; and for consulting your ease instead of your importance and your dignity?

ADDISON.

Come, Sir Walter, I will discover myself to you. As great a secret as I find it is to you, and I reserved it to the conclusion of your narration, I have to tell you, that I was dragged, by those who most intended my interest, into the public eye of observation and into the responsibility of office. According to a sentiment in my own popular tragedy of Cato, I was placed on high, "to make my virtues or my faults conspicuous." I was elected a member of the House of Commons, and I took my seat for Malmesbury. But I did not distinguish myself there so much to my credit as you did; for I got up twice to speak to a question in favour of my party (for I was of a party as well as yourself, though not at the head of one), and raised the eager attention of the House to that pitch, and became so much embarrassed by their calling out, "Hear him! hear him!" that I could not proceed, but I was obliged to sit down, and never hazard the making another attempt. I was promoted to be secretary to a lord
lieu-

lieutenant of Ireland; and, some years after my return home, to my utter astonishment, I had the seals of secretary of state delivered into my hands.

RALEIGH.

I rejoice that your merit was rewarded with such advancement. I am impatient to hear, that time and practice got the better of your diffidence.

ADDISON.

I found myself every day more unequal to my station; and what was worse, my most determined friends, and those who had the greatest hopes of me, saw my insufficiency, and blushed for me. I had not the presence of mind, like Sir Walter, to look all men full in the face, and reject their insolent petitions with a frown and a sturdy denial. I felt myself unfit for the coarse labour of official business, and the weight of state affairs. The distemper of an increasing asthma furnished me with an excuse for resigning the seals, and of retiring, upon a pension of two thousands pounds a-year, to privacy and to my books.

RALEIGH.

It is enough to make my blood boil in these regions, to be told, that Addison, the man raised by the steadiness of his patrons to a principal post in the government, who was possessed of the opportunities of providing for his dependents, and of taking ample revenge upon his enemies, should plunge himself into inextricable disgrace. That he should suffer his heart to fail him, and his tongue

tongue to falter in the cause he rose up to support : that a person, whose pen was equal to all subjects, whose name was in high reputation with all men, whose elevation was thought an ornament and ought to have been a blessing to his country, should secede from the public, desert his party, and shrink into nothingness and oblivion,

ADDISON,

Lay the blame on my innate awkwardness and invincible modesty. Conscious I always was of the failings imputed to me. One of my best friends, and in high employment, continued to complain of my forbearance in the midst of senatorial debate, and was angry with me "for letting
" a forward fellow, who had not half my sense,
" prate for an hour together, without my taking
" him up." Fortune, who sometimes makes a laughing-stock of mankind, may be supposed, in a frolic, to have made Addison a secretary of state, when he could have discharged the function of a bishop with applause.

BALEIGH,

I marvel, under the disadvantages of an habitual silence, and an unprovocable temper, how you preserved yourself from insult and ridicule; that opposition did not roar like a lion when your tongue was fascinated into silence; that malignancy did not invent difficulties against you, and perplex even the current of public affairs, when the timidity of your disposition was so well known; and that every little Machiavel in politics did not attempt to confound so feeble a minister, and expose so insignificant a tool of state.

ADDI-

ADDISON.

If confidence were not the virtue of my mind, turbulence, I assure you, was not the pernicious vice of my heart. It is the first time I ever thought myself justified in being pert to a great man; but upon this provocation I cannot help observing, that I always had wit and sense enough to keep my head upon my shoulders.



CONVERSATION XXIX.

The Dutchess of MARLBOROUGH

AND

Lady MASHAM.

MARLBOROUGH,

I Never forgave you for supplanting me in the favour of the queen; and I do not feel my resentment against you much softened by the great length of time. The very sight of you awakens my indignation. I had too high a spirit to pardon an injury of that magnitude. It was written in marble, and therefore never to be effaced. Little did I think, so unsuspicious was my disposition, that when I employed Mrs. Masham to supply my place, whilst I chose to be absent from court, of which indeed I had a surfeit, she would take every opportunity of recommending herself, and to ruin me and my friends.

MASHAM.

MASHAM.

However afraid I might once be of your Grace's calling me to an account for what I had done, your menacing tone can give me no apprehensions on this side of the water. If you are content to talk with me as with one who is now upon a level with yourself, and I believe nothing but death could convince you of that truth; I will endeavour to hear you with complacency, and reply to you as becomes me. Otherwise I shall be obliged to abandon you to your pride and your petulance. But I hope you are cured of some of the unhappy passions that accompanied you in the other world. The morose Dr. Swift used to call them the three furies that reigned in your breast.

MARLBOROUGH.

I am sensible we are not in the ante-chamber of the queen, where I considered you as my inferior, and treated you as such. The dutchess of Marlborough, as I already perceive, is here no better than Lady Masham. Will you so far excuse for a moment my former behaviour as to be communicative and candid in what you shall think fit to say to me?

MASHAM.

You make me happy in giving me an opportunity to satisfy you on any points on which you desire information. Nothing but truth is spoken in these regions, which you will soon find to be a very different place from a court, where every
thing

thing but truth is to be heard. Even secrecy here is not necessary to be practised; and what could not be known in the upper regions is here talked of without ceremony.

MARLBOROUGH.

I begin to congratulate myself in making advances to Lady Masham, who promises to reveal every thing I languish to know. I flatter myself you compleatly repented of your ill returns to me. I hope you do not think I speak too plain on the occasion: for you easily recollect what I did for yourself and for that ragged boy, Jack Hill, your brother, who went general to Quebec.

MASHAM.

Nay, if your Grace cannot keep your temper, as you promised, I must leave you. You had better take a walk in these shades to recover yourself.

MARLBOROUGH.

I beg your pardon, and will endeavour not to offend a second time. Pray, Lady Masham, what had I done to have such unkind treatment from your hands; and, if you know it, also inform me what I had committed to be slighted by the queen, and to occasion new faces to be put about her?

MASHAM.

MASHAM.

Your overbearing disposition was enough to tire out the patience of the most easy and forgiving nature. You became mistress of the spirit of the queen, and made her feel the weight of your ascendancy over her. No beauty upon earth ever ruled her lover with such a rod of iron as you did the queen for several years. Do you remember (for every enemy in and out of the court talked loudly of it) on her venturing to refuse something you asked, the first time perhaps she plucked up the courage to do it, you clapt to the door of the closet in her face, the noise of which echoed through the whole apartments?

MARLBOROUGH.

Plain-dealing towards the queen had been so much her desire, and my constant practice, that I could not help shewing what I endured upon falling from the height of her esteem.

MASHAM.

Though you perceived your favour was upon the decline, you did not observe the necessary conduct to preserve it. Queen Anne required and deserved as much respect as when she was only princess of Denmark.

MARL-

MARLBOROUGH.

I had been permitted such familiarities, that I fancied I might do any thing. To secure my interest and importance, I imagined I had taken my measures right in placing Mrs. Masham at court. I never thought you would reward me with ingratitude.

MASHAM.

I hope you will not feel the heavy punishment of that crime in this world, for which there is none in the other. Nothing is so common as treachery and insincerity in a court. But nobody could ruin the duchess of Marlborough there but herself. You shewed you were weary of being a dutiful subject as well as a favourite. The queen could not have had a more agreeable companion than yourself. I have reason to think she became tired of you and the Whigs, long before it appeared publicly. She had art enough to smother her dislike. Sacheverell's trial made her resolve to have new people about her, and to try to get herself out of the captivity she complained of; though she had no more liberty after the change than she had before. It never entered into my expectation of being raised to be her favourite. You abdicated, and a revolution took place of course. She liked the attention and submission I paid her; they were services she had not been used to: she could make more free with Lady Masham than with Lady Marlborough. I had her not long to myself; for the duchess of Somerset succeeded, if not supplanted me, and carried every thing with

with as high a hand as you had done. For queen Anne was more loved than respected by all her favourites. When she had got rid of you, she thought she should be able to place or displace her servants of all kinds. If I had not been your successor, the queen would have found somebody to have taken into her confidence. Unluckily for me, in some measure, I was pitched upon for that vacancy of kindness you disdained to accept any longer. When love is over, the object is seen with different eyes. She had submitted to you a great while, had enriched and ennobled your family, and made even an administration to oblige you. She thought, and I believe conscientiously, the duke got so much by the war, that he would never put an end to it. If you have any body besides yourself to thank for disgracing you at court, it was the offended Harley.

MARLBOROUGH.

The queen had no original thoughts on any subject, as either good or bad, but as put into her head. She had much love and passion while pleased, for those who could please her; and she could write pretty affectionate letters, but could do nothing else. To own the truth, I often despised the queen; for familiarity and reverence never can be long companions, for suffering me to govern her upon so many occasions. They who require governing must submit to a great deal of ill usage. But anger succeeded, when she forced me to let go my hold of her. I could not bear that my party should be trampled upon by so revengeful a man as Harley, who had over-reached the duke in pretending to be his creature, whilst

T

he

he was setting up for himself and caballing, by the means of the back stairs, with you and the queen against me and my friends. If courts had not been unlike all other places, the duke's services and mine would not have been so ill requited.

MASHAM.

I am not certain, that all you could have done would have recovered the affection of the queen, when you once lost it. She never overlooked the affront of your serving yourself first with the pair of gloves, and she was determined to take ample vengeance, and tear up your faction by root and branch. She got rid of all your dependents, and resolved to embrace the pacific-system. It was given out, maliciously enough, that a pair of gloves procured peace for Europe. When you gave up your attendance and attention, she had more leisure to turn her thoughts towards her brother, whom she certainly fixed her eyes upon for her successor. But she did not know how to accomplish that great work. If she had lived a little longer she might have ventured to trust her ministers with her secret inclinations. Duke Hamilton, if he had not perished in the duel with Lord Mohun, would have paved the way for a negotiation, when he had arrived at the French court. It did not require more than an ordinary courage at that time in a minister to propose or even carry a question of that sort in parliament. Though she knew you despised the Hanover family, as much as she herself did, yet you were so linked in with the whigs; and Lord Marlborough's professions so extended them-

themselves to both parties, that she could not trust him nor you.

MARLBOROUGH.

She had not always a predilection for her own family. When I had influence, I advised her and assisted her to escape from her father to Lord Devonshire in 1688. She was then as much against his cause, as she could possibly be for her brother's interest. She seemed to give into the idle story of his supposititious birth. As to the elector of Hanover, I knew she could not even bear the thoughts of his coming over in her life-time. Besides, she had a cause of personal dislike to him, for his slighting her as a lover, when his invitation into England in Charles the Second's time was with the view of his offering his addresses to her. But all this is rather foreign from what I wished might be the only topic of our conversation.

MASHAM.

I can say no more than I have done. I was not so much to blame as you gave out, nor such a monster of ingratitude. I only received the favours of the court which you despised, and which I took a thousand times as much trouble to deserve. The queen was offended with you beyond forgiveness, and assumed the right of choosing me as her companion and waiting woman in your stead. What I got by it was not to the amount you obtained. Sovereigns surely have a power to nominate their favourites and grooms of the stole. The exercise of this prerogative is but a poor

recompence for the fatigue of royalty. If you had reflected on the benefits she conferred upon you and yours, instead of the frowns and coolness you met with at last, you would not have been so unjust in your complaints, or vehement in your accusations. Give me leave to introduce you the first opportunity, and every day here is levee day for that purpose, to the queen; and let me conjure you to be reconciled to her as soon as you can. She has been an indulgent mistress to you. There is here no competition for preferment. Lady Masham need not be considered as a rival. Come, drink a glass of Lethe, and that will banish every thing from your memory that has been a subject of mortification!

MARLBOROUGH.

Though forgiveness and forgetfulness may be easy things on this side of the Styx, yet I assure you I neither forgot nor forgave the least part of the treatment I met with at court. To expose it to posterity I wrote a whole volume, to inform the world, how ill I had been used, by the queen and yourself, by way of apology for my conduct.

MASHAM.

Then you have made free with the characters of the queen and lady Masham! It is well it was not published whilst I was alive; for I should certainly have answered it. You know there are two ways of writing history. I should have told
my

my own story my own way, and perhaps have been obliged to have told your's for you. What! the duchess of Marlborough really turn author! She who passed so much of her life in taking care of her children and in playing at cards, and who was never seen with a book in her hands, write a volume about herself!

MARLBOROUGH.

I had a mind to leave a good name behind me.

MASHAM.

Could lady Marlborough care for what people said of her when she was dead? If you professed impartiality, you must have remembered some circumstances that made against you: but most likely you forgot some things you ought to have put down. By out-living your enemies so many years as you have done, you have the Temple of Fame to yourself. I would rather have suffered something from the ill-nature of the world, than even to have whispered any thing to the disadvantage of my benefactress and sovereign. But our dispositions were not the same. I think I perceive our good queen is coming along this path.

MARLBOROUGH.

I have been wrong. Bless me! I am somewhat confounded at the fight! There is no going back. Sure the consciousness of my bad behaviour to her does not fly in my face! She was as desirous of my friendship in the other world as I was of her's. Mrs. Freeman will try to renew her former intimacy with her old friend and correspondent Mrs. Morley.



CONVERSATION XXVIII.

Earl of ORFORD

AND

Earl of BATH.

ORFORD.

I BELIEVE it would have been better for us both, if we had not quarrelled in the other world. If you could have been content to have been the second man in the administration, you would have shewn more judgement than you did, in gratifying your vengeance against your old friend.

BATH.

When I became your parliamentary opponent, and sat on the opposite side of the house, I saw you with other eyes; and I considered you, till I hunted you down, as an enemy to your country; and could have pursued you to the scaffold. I thought your waste of the public money and your

mismanagement required an expiation. I wanted to see exploded the doctrine, of supporting liberty by corruption, and an end of the practice of corrupting the people with their own money. The interposition of the king, though it did not alter my opinion, softened the fierceness of my party-zeal. I forgot his striking my name out of the privy counsellors book, and from being a lord lieutenant, with his own hand, in the year thirty; and remembered only the re-insertion, and his present gracious behaviour. On his messages to me by lord Hardwicke and the duke of Newcastle, about an indemnity for yourself, I desired he might know, that I was not a man of blood; but that I could not undertake for others; and that I did not choose to be a screen.

OXFORD.

The king forgave me for an expression, in relation to himself, when prince of Wales, about the drums and trumpets I said he must have to content him. But he did not like you the better for discovering this private conversation. The time however came, that it was necessary to make a friend of you. You resisted the solicitations of the queen to be removed to the other house. But you proved yourself a good subject, when you ceased being a demagogue, and accepted a coronet. I had good reason for being afraid of you: for you conjured up such a flame against me, that it might have made you nearer obtaining your ends, had not the goodness, and indeed the justice, of the king, to an old servant, prevented you. If he could have been prevailed upon to make free with the civil list money, I could have stood my ground.

ground. I should then have been able to have bid as high for a majority, as the heir apparent, who took up vast sums for this purpose, and I believe became indebted to you, and meddled too much in election matters. But the King chose to let me fall, though on a bed of roses. My friends indeed, foreseeing a plurality of votes against me, had advised me to give way to the torrent. My master, for my better security, raised me to an earldom, and granted me a pension of four thousand a year; which I was obliged to sell to old Walker. Though you loved money, you would have disdained a pension. My levee in Arlington-street, on my resignation of my places, convinced me I had more friends (for I never lost any), and fewer enemies than I could have supposed. As lord Bolingbroke, your political associate, said of my behaviour at Sacheverell's trial, you roasted me at so hot a fire, that you burned your own fingers.

BATH.

I saw my error in the violence of my proceedings against you: for I perceived some were for taking the government by storm. I stopped short before it was too late, and prevented it. I ventured the loss of my popularity by my moderation. I accepted the title of lord Bath, and a seat in the interior cabinet. No subject ever stood on higher ground; for I was chosen arbiter between the crown and the people. I nominated the new administration, and refused being prime minister, though the king requested it. This was in conformity with my frequent declarations, that I only wanted your removal and not your places. I
could

could not hinder the new junto from quarreling amongst themselves, or from reproaching me with duplicity at the great meeting at the Fountain tavern; though I proved to them, they had all the power of the state in their own hands, and that I had got nothing for myself. Argyle, who, till within a few years, had been the approver of your measures, and so enriched with appointments, that a bishop, in a defensive speech, called him the greatest pluralist in the kingdom, and said aloud, that an ounce of honesty was worth a tun weight of gold (which was to be applied to myself) flung up in a pet, because he could not be commander in chief, and have every thing his own way. These altercations made room for the Pelhams, who some time after got the king, the parliament, and the nation, to themselves.

O R F O R D.

I could very easily have divided your party, confounded your councils, and have come into the ministry again; for I had always the ear of the king, even against yourself. Though you found you were able to procure a majority at last against me (how strong a minority there was for me, when my influence was over, you remember very well) in the house of commons, yet you could not succeed in the lords. They would not suffer a court of inquisition to be set up against me; and they ventured a quarrel with the other house upon it. Your secret committee, though armed with the authority of a Venetian council of ten, made out nothing of importance, at least equal to your promises, and the expectations you raised. The great sums I paid to hireling authors and
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newspaper writers, were not able to counteract the poison of the Craftsman, and what fell from yours and from Bolingbroke's pen. The inside of government, and the application of the secret-service money, were not to be laid open before the tribunal of the public. You soon found out, that you were not able to keep the whigs and the country party together. Such a coalition can never be durable. Whigs and Tories cannot keep long in each other's company. You could not go on with your war system. You saw your authority would soon crumble to pieces. The victory at Dettingen, so necessary at the juncture, was more glorious to the nation, than beneficial to yourselves. A German war became unpopular. The emissaries of France and the Pretender were at work. My enemies, you perceived, were not your friends. The people cooled of themselves: they had their trial of new men and new measures, and did not care how soon you all fell to the ground; for they began to think all ministers were pretty much alike.

BATH.

To pull down is certainly more easy than to build up. Our desire was to raise up the constitution, which seemed to be giving way, and make it respected in the eyes of the people. Our endeavours were to convince, that there must be such a thing as government; and that though parties are necessary, factions are mischievous. I proved, by evidence of facts, that faction was undermining and betraying us: and that the nation itself for a moment was to be treated as a faction. I knew at length our friends from our foes. You held

held things together more effectually by the power of money, than we could by disinterested principles and pure intentions. It was a noble experiment, to try if an administration could be supported without assistance from the treasury, and to examine, whether public and private virtue were not something more than a name. You were grown grey in your ministerial capacity; and it was but equitable you should be made to retire (and no man went out of office more unwillingly than yourself) and make way for younger men and a new system. A rotation of men, at least, is politic in a popular government. I acknowledge, that I discovered, when I became of the cabinet, that you were a great minister, for you kneaded, and compounded, as Clarendon says of Cromwell, the jarring interests, and the various humours of mankind, well together, into a good consistence. I once supposed you cultivated the pacific plan with cardinal Fleury, to preserve yourself and the electorate of Hanover.

OXFORD.

I was able to do more for trade, after hushing the storms of Jacobitism, than any of my predecessors. I could have done more service if I had been permitted. The mis-represented words of "sturdy beggars"—"no excise"—(which last clamour had like to have cost me my life in the Court of Requests) "no search"—"Hofier's ghost"—were fatal to my political existence. I could have emancipated England from Hanover, if you would have let me. For I had the king's permission to propose it in parliament. But so great was the cry against Sir Robert, that every
method

method might have been taken to defeat it, or to pervert it into a misfortune. I need not tell you that George the First, for many reasons, became indifferent about wearing the English crown, even after the victory at Preston. But the son preferred it to the electorate; and said, when the rebels were at Derby, he would live and die king of England. You all gave out, that Hanover was the great national grievance—that England was steered by the Hanover rudder—and, that no good could be done, whilst the elector of Hanover was king of England. If the separation could have taken place, it might have pleased for a time, as novelties are apt to do. Then no guarantee for Hanover would have been asked for, and no yellow sash would have been worn at Dettingen, or complained of, to make the news of the day, amongst the great vulgar and the small. But I am not sure we could have come away honourably from the continent for ever. Though an island, we may be obliged, as auxiliaries, or principals, from honour or for safety, to have to do with the continent. I am sure the measure I allude to might have been a handle to the heir of the crown, to set his face more violently against me, for giving or taking away his hereditary patrimony and his titles. That peace was useful to England, all unprejudiced men saw very clearly. We had enjoyed the blessing of it for six and twenty years, and were made to be as weary of it as of the possession of sun-shine. To be sure, I could not so very well answer for things in time of war (for I was not cut out to carry the truncheon), nor could be certain of maintaining my post as minister, which it is always difficult to keep, and not always safe to relinquish. I confess, that, to save myself from
your

your sanguinary persecution, for no minister was ever pushed so hard as Walpole was by Pulteney, I availed myself of supports the constitution never meant to afford me.

B A T H.

Your alliances, treaties, and conventions, were ill made, or founded in fear, or were of no duration. You knew home-interests, and that was the only firm ground you had to stand upon. Besides my indignation from being slighted, I became your avowed enemy upon public considerations. Your declaration, "that every man had his price, and that you knew what every man's price was," I thought, deserved reprobation. You had reduced corruption to a system, to the overthrow of all principle; and I had a mind to try, if there were any spirit left in the nation. You had money for the needy, power for the ambitious, places for the men of business, and stars and garters for the vanity of the rich and the men of great families. You knew so much of human nature, and was so well hacknied in the ways of men, that whatever you said to its disgrace was too easily believed. If it were true, you ought to have been punished for publishing the secret.

O R F O R D.

I was generally called the tempter; but was as often the tempted. The governors must always be upon good terms with the governed. It is most prudent and practicable to manage mankind (who may be led, but must not be driven) by
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their inclinations, their interests and their passions. But nothing is so bad as ruling them against their wills, and in opposition to their feelings. I was no faint, no Spartan, no reformer. Provided I could make government go on well, I was not nice about the specific for oiling the wheels. I was more distressed by you than by the whole band of orators. You were a friend turned into an enemy, since the year twenty-five, and therefore more to be dreaded. Your tongue, which I was more afraid of than any other man's sword, would not have done me so much service, if it had been employed for me, as mischief when turned against me. Your weight of property gave a greater consequence to your speeches. Yourself, and Wyndham, and Pitt, Lyttelton and Sandys, made the kingdom believe every thing you asserted. Sandys put himself in the front of my antagonists, when he gave me notice on what day he should impeach me. I lost a trifling wager with you on a quotation I made from Horace, when I set him at defiance. Attackers of ministers, as well as of towns, have a great advantage over the defendants. The minister must bear and forbear, like a stoic. He is like a lion in the toil, and must submit to be baited like a bear at the stake. He must know when to defend, and when to recriminate, and take care how he puts himself into a passion. Oratory never produced such extraordinary efforts, since the days of Demosthenes and Cicero. You got so much importance by making me uneasy, that you became the first man in the kingdom; and when your rage was glutted, you trembled for yourself and the nation, which expected a sort of republic from your hands. But you were a man of too much sense and honour to hold it out to them

them in earnest. You made the people mad, and tried to reason with them during the fit.

BATH.

You had entrenched yourself so strong in septennial parliaments, that honest men thought you were able to make them and yourself perpetual; and that every thing depended on your character. Your master resigned all government to you so implicitly, and had said, as it was whispered pretty loudly, you were answerable for all measures, and provided he received a stipulated sum of money every Saturday morning, he should not break in upon you. This was enough to awaken us, and to put us all upon our guard. It surely now became necessary, like watchmen of the people, to ring the alarm bell all over the kingdom.

ORFORD.

You called in republicans, Jacobites, the daring, the cunning, the proud, the eloquent, the necessitous, the plausible, and all you could overreach, to assist you in your scheme: and when by their assistance you got the better of me, they immediately, on being disappointed in their expectations, for the harvest was not enough for the labourers, got the better of you. I was charged very generally with corruption; though what sounds like corruption, may not always be corruption, says Tacitus Gordon, who adds, that it is not so much the act, as the characters of men that make it. The methods of prevailing against me were not always of the fairest kind. Men may
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be bribed without giving them money. I employed, and all men in my station must do the same, the favours and influence of the crown, to still the clamours of the importunate, and the discontented, to prevent the growth of sonorous patriots, who would have sprung up, like mushrooms, in a night's time. I endeavoured to win gentlemen to attend on public business, before, as well as after your secession, in thirty-eight, and to do their duty in parliament (for where there are so many judges, there ought to be many hearers) and to give themselves the trouble to come down to vote according to their consciences. I think I see your Lordship smile at the last expression. I endeavoured to stave off the war of thirty-nine, and not merely on account of my particular situation; for when it was resolved upon, I engaged in it very heartily. As it turned out, it would have been better, if I had ventured to have shewn more spirit. A blow against some of their defenceless places in South America, might have saved me. A formal breach with Spain was sure to bring on a rupture with France. I was always against contending with France; for I thought we were not a match for her; and I dreaded, lest bad success should reduce us to accept humiliating terms of peace. I have been assured, that the nation has seen its folly, in precipitating my administration into the declaration against Spain: and that the wisest part of mankind think, and pronounce, that the hopeless condition of the affairs of Great Britain at this moment, at home, and in America (which country I left to my bolder successors to tax) originated from that cause, and is to be dated from that period. Come, have the candour to own, that my peace establishment, my

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moderation, my keeping down the rage of parties, my management, and the good things I had to bestow, and did bestow, on foes as well as friends, were of benefit to the public; and that I prevented the cruelty and extravagance of war; a point it would have been well if all my successors had attended to, and kept out the pretender; for you know he came in within a year or two after you obliged me to resign. I foretold, that in case of a general war, the King's crown would be fought for in his British dominions. On my first retirement to Houghton, on finding myself threatened with illness, I destroyed some letters that were deposited in two boxes; one of which contained some heads, and the other some fortunes: for I was not so delicate as Clarendon's Lord Falkland, not to employ spies, and to open letters. This you may say, is the old story of Sertorius and Pompey. But is it not a proof I could forgive, when revenge was in my power? Ill-nature was never laid to my charge.

BATH.

I observed all that happened after your abdication, for I know better than to call it expulsion. There is no man who has been able to preserve England in peace, or in its senses, since you quitted the helm. You have had the best panegyrics bestowed upon you by those, who were your most formidable antagonists. Real tories, as well as real whigs, are reconciled to your memory. I got many followers by caballing, and speaking against you. I raised a storm I was not able to lay. I was rightly served, in having my artifices played against me at the general election. The
ascen-

ascendency I had been acquiring during almost twenty years I lost in a single session. When that was gone, all power of doing good was taken from me. I found I could be no longer serviceable, and that my coadjutors wanted abilities, the confidence of the people, or something I could not give them. So they and I irretrievably fell, unpitied, and not without ridicule from half the pens and tongues in the kingdom. I was often consulted in the present reign, and delivered my opinions freely enough, and not always on the side of democracy. The people, whose faithful servant I had been, used me so ill, that I was often inclined to ask myself, on recollection of their falling off, who would do any thing for the people?

O R F O R D.

We both tasted the sweets of popularity (and who loves not popularity when he can obtain it?) when out of place; and the ingratitude and envy of competitors, and the ill-judging multitude in our highest meridian. You enjoyed the most applause; and I the most power. I believe no one has done less harm from such possession of it, nor heaped up less wealth from an administration that afforded such opportunities of amassing it. However I may have been induced as a minister, to seduce the virtue of others, my own hands were always clean, and my coffers empty. I made not so great a shew as Wolsey, nor was hated and feared like lord Strafford. The King's generosity enabled me to build my house at Houghton: which did not hasten my downfall like Clarendon house. The ground on which you erected Bath-house was the only present you had from his son.

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I was not above law, and had not done any thing the law could get hold of. I was employed and trusted by two Kings, who condescended to ask my advice, and admit me to their friendship. If I had not so much wit as yourself, I had as much argument in my speeches, and always made myself understood on the most difficult subjects. But I could not weep like yourself; for I talked from my reason, and not from my passions; and did not try to throw the house into despondency. You acknowledged me your master in the art of financiering, and in keeping the public accounts. I am satisfied, if you allow my head and my heart to have been as good as your own. If we have taken a different side in the line of politics, as our judgements or our prejudices led us, let us apologise for it, and make it up at last. As we were determined whigs through life, let us be as familiar together as at the accession of the illustrious house of Hanover. Of all the important enemies that appeared against Walpole, and pursued me with their utmost vengeance, the conduct of Pulteney, like the dagger of Brutus against Cæsar, was the most disinterested, and was actuated by a love of his country beyond any of the other conspirators. You know I had many friends in private life, as a parent, a patron, friend, master, and companion; and there can be no competition any longer, for the post of prime minister. If you desire it, I will wait upon Lord Somers, and request him to be a party to our reconciliation.

BATH.

Agreed.

